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A HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN
SOUTH AFRICA

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A HISTORY
OF
CHRISTIAN MISSIONS
IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY

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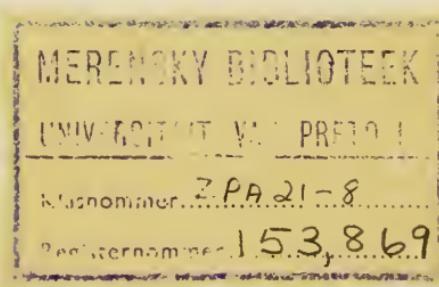
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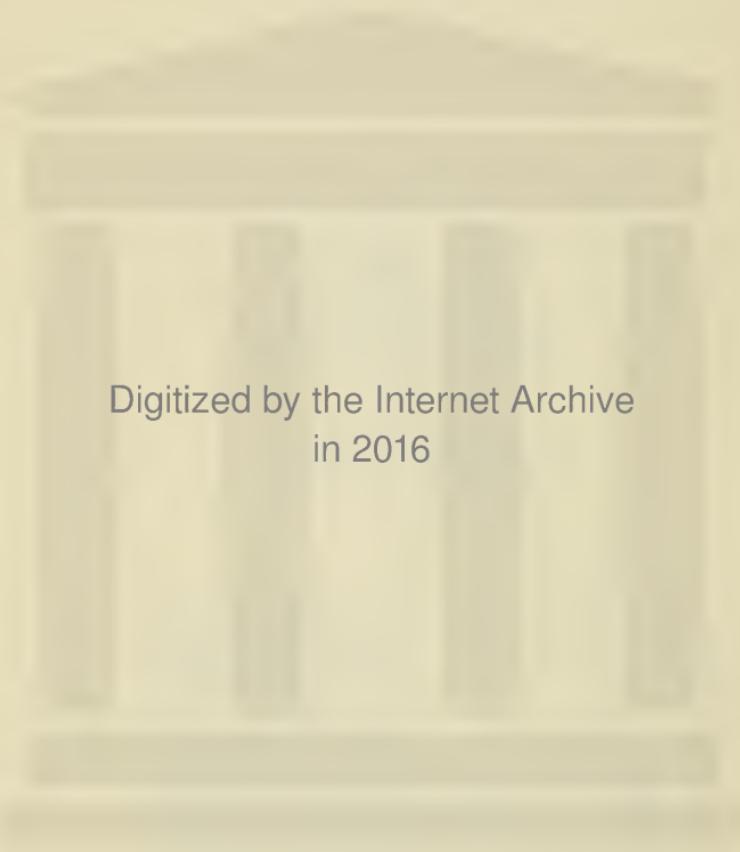
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TO THE MEMORY OF
MY FATHER
THE MISSIONARIES' FRIEND
AND
MY MOTHER
A MISSIONARY'S DAUGHTER



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P R E F A C E.

IT is a significant though wholly undesigned coincidence that the completion of this “History,” which has occupied the author’s leisure hours during the past three years, should synchronise with two notable events that have a direct bearing on the subject-matter of the following pages. It is but three months since the World Missionary Conference assembled in Edinburgh ; and the impulse and inspiration of that great gathering are now only beginning to make themselves felt throughout the mission fields of Protestant Christendom. The Edinburgh Conference, of itself, could not fail to mark the year 1910 as an epochal year in the history of Christian Missions.

The present work is not, however, a history of Christian Missions in general, but a “History of Christian Missions in South Africa” ; and from the view-point of South African history the year 1910 is an equally momentous epoch. The same month that saw representatives of all Protestant missionary bodies assemble in the Scottish capital, witnessed also the birth of a United South Africa. And as these lines are being penned, the chosen representatives of the people of South Africa are congregating in the Cape capital, in order to take their seats in the first Parliament of the Union. Contemporary mission history and contemporary Cape history find a point of meeting in the year of grace 1910.

From the pages of this book it will be abundantly evident that mission history and Cape history have always

been associated in the closest possible way. In South Africa, at any rate, they form, not two parallel and separate streams, but two streams which unite and commingle. And this "History" may claim to be the first attempt to place the establishment and growth of Christian Missions in South Africa in their true historical setting.

It is not for me to judge whether the attempt has in any sense succeeded. But I may be allowed to say —without, I hope, incurring the charge of undue presumption—that I write as one for whom South Africa is home, the only home he has ever known ; whose love for his country is whole-hearted ; whose privilege it has been to travel over almost every part of the vast territories described in these pages ; and who yields to no one in the sincere regard he has for those who first bore the lamp of Life to the races sitting in darkness and the shadow of Death.

The observant reader will not fail to notice that the history of missionary enterprise before 1850 is worked out in greater detail than the history of subsequent years. There is a reason for this. It was my original intention to write a history which should cover the period to 1850 only ; but friends who had interested themselves in my work suggested that an account of missions continued down to the present day would better meet the clamant need for missionary information. To describe the events of the last sixty years on the same generous scale as was allowed to the earlier years would have necessitated the issue of three volumes instead of one. This explanation must be my apology, and I trust it will be accepted as sufficient, for dealing with the later period in such brief and summary fashion.

A pleasant duty remains to be performed—that of acknowledging my indebtedness and recording my

thanks to all who have assisted—by way of advice suggestion, or direct information—towards the production of this work. To mention the names of but one or two where so many have made me their debtor were invidious, and I therefore refrain. From every portion of the field missionaries have replied to my importunate requests for information with unvarying courtesy and a truly astonishing promptitude, and I tender them my sincerest thanks. From among well-wishers other than missionaries I select but one name for special mention—and no one, I feel sure, will take it ill that I do so. Dr. George M. Theal, late historiographer to the Cape Government, has shown me exceptional kindness, and from the rich stores of his unequalled knowledge of things South African has shed light upon many points that to me were obscure. To him I desire to offer special and hearty acknowledgments.

Sensible though I am of the many shortcomings and defects of this "History," I nevertheless send it forth, with the prayer—

. . . what in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support ;

and in the earnest hope that it may contribute, in some small degree, to the spread of the Kingdom of God in South Africa.

J. DU PLESSIS.

CAPE TOWN, 31 OCTOBER, 1910.

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CHAPTER I.

SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS.

Land of Good Hope, thy future lies
Bright 'fore my vision as thy skies.
O Africa! long lost in night,
Upon the horizon gleams the light
Of breaking dawn.

WILLIAM RODGER THOMSON.

Time was when clothing, sumptuous or for use,
Save their own painted skins our sires had none.
The hardy chief upon the rugged rock,
Washed by the sea, or on the gravelly bank,
Thrown up by wintry torrents roaring loud,
Fearless of wrong, reposed his weary strength.

COWPER ("The Task").

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SUB-CONTINENT.

THE southern portion of the Dark Continent was discovered CHAP. I.
by the Portuguese mariner Dias in 1486, and completely doubled eleven years later by his fellow-countryman Da Gama, who thus was the first to reach India by the sea route. A century and a half, however, elapsed before the colonisation of the country was commenced by the Dutch. In 1652 Jan van Riebeek, the first commander of the little colony, erected a fort and established a halfway-house to India on the shores of Table Bay. Our earliest reliable information regarding the physical features and aboriginal inhabitants of Southern Africa dates from the arrival of this first party of European settlers.

The coast-line of South Africa—and indeed of Africa generally—is forbidding in the extreme. With two exceptions it is deficient in harbours which offer an anchorage at once safe and easy. Saldanha Bay on the west coast, and Delagoa Bay on the east coast, are fine natural harbours, but

CHAP. I. the former, while possessing an excellent climate has a scanty water-supply, and the latter, with a sufficiency of water, labours under the serious handicap of a tropical and malarious climate. The rivers that drain the country are useless as highways of communication. Saving three—the Zambesi, the Pungwe, and the Limpopo—not one of them is navigable beyond its estuary, and the three exceptions are uninterruptedly navigable only for a distance which in proportion to their length is insignificant.

Three distinct mountain ranges of unequal length, running parallel to each other in easterly and westerly direction, divide the surface of the country into four sections, each of which is subject to different meteorological and climatic conditions. We have first the littoral region, broken, well-watered, and in great part forest-covered; then, between the first and second mountain ranges, comes the section known as the Little Karroo, with fewer perennial streams, but a rich alluvial soil; next, between the second and third mountain ranges, the Great Karroo is reached, a lofty plateau with hardly any permanent streams, but covered with abundance of drought-resisting herbage; and, finally, beyond the third range of mountains, is found the High Veld, a region even more dry, barren and waterless than the Great Karroo. These four steps give us access to the interior from the southern shore of Africa.

In traversing Southern Africa from west to east, our experiences would be almost exactly reversed. The western shore, for long distances north and south of the mouth of the Orange River, is sandy and sterile to the last degree. At a distance of 500 miles from the west coast grassy plains make their appearance, which towards the north merge gradually into the virgin forests of North Bechuanaland and Rhodesia. Still farther eastward the pasturage improves, and rivers and streams, descending from the western slopes of the Drakensberg and Lebombo ranges, occur with greater frequency. Crossing these great mountains, we reach the undulatory but fertile territories of Kafirland, Natal, Zululand, and the Portuguese coast-land.

South Africa lies between the 34th and the 18th degree of south latitude, and its climate therefore varies from temperate to semi-tropical. Generally speaking, the climate is far cooler

than that found at similar latitudes in the northern hemisphere.¹ This is due to two causes, first, to the air currents and summer winds which pass directly from the cool Antarctic regions to the coast-lands ; and, second, to the increase of elevation which is experienced as one passes from the coast to the interior of the country—an elevation which amounts to upwards of 2000 feet in the Little Karroo, and upwards of 4000 feet in the Great Karroo. This temperate and healthy climate prevails over the major portion of South Africa. Only in the basin of the Zambesi, in North-eastern Transvaal, and in Portuguese East Africa, do malarial conditions obtain.

CHAP.
I.

THE ABORIGINES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

When Europeans first became acquainted with South Africa, they found natives of three distinct races occupying the country south of the Zambesi River. These three races were known to the early colonists as the Bushmen, the Hottentots, and the Kafirs. Further research revealed the fact that Bushmen and Hottentots sprang originally from a common stock, and may therefore be grouped under the same ethnic division ; while the Kafirs formed but a small section of a widely extended race, stretching from the southern extremity of the African continent to the shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza, and known to ethnologists as the Bantu race.

For a long time the origin of Bushmen, Hottentots and Kafirs was wrapped in obscurity. All that was certainly known was that, at the first contact of Europeans with South Africa, the Bushman-Hottentot race was roaming over the western and south-western portion of the sub-continent, while the Bantu race occupied the more mountainous region to the south-east and east. Whence these races originally came, and in what order they reached Southern Africa, was at best but a matter of conjecture. The patient investigations of men like Dr. Bleek and Mr. George W. Stow have, however, thrown light upon this dark subject. By the production of linguistic data Dr. Bleek showed conclusively, *first*, that the various tribes constituting the Bantu races use languages which are as much

¹ Cape Town, lying at 34° south latitude, has a mean annual temperature of 62° F. (16·8° C.), or about the same as that of Naples and of Nice and the Riviera, lying at 41° to 44° north latitude.

CHAP. I. cognate as English is with Dutch or German; and, *secondly*, that the languages of the Bushmen and the Hottentots exhibit remarkable affinities, not merely with each other, but with languages spoken by tribes in Central and Northern Africa. To this stage had Dr. Bleek's researches brought the question of the origin of the natives of South Africa, when his early death deprived philological science of one of its most earnest and devoted students.

The problem was then attacked by Mr. Stow from the side of history and tradition. Dr. Bleek's investigations had determined the original habitat of the natives of South Africa, and had proved that they must have migrated from the north. By interrogating the traditions of the various tribes, Mr. Stow was able to show in what order the three races arrived in South Africa. At a very remote historical period the Bushmen, who dwelt in the recesses of the dense forests of Central Africa, began to roam farther afield. In the pursuit, probably, of game, or, it may be, through the pressure of more powerful alien tribes, they found their way ultimately to the broad open plains of South Africa, where for several centuries they must have hunted unmolested. A long period elapsed before the men of the kindred Hottentot race followed in the track of the Bushmen. Keeping not far from the Atlantic coast, they advanced slowly southward, and finally crossed the Orange River into what is now the Cape Province. At various stages of the southward march sections of the people remained behind, and in course of time grew to be those Hottentot tribes which the earliest colonists encountered along the western seaboard.

The last of the three races to reach South Africa was the Bantu, who made their way across the Zambesi at a comparatively recent period, probably not much before the fifteenth century of our era. The Bantu tribes, being more numerous and more powerful than the Hottentots and Bushmen, forced the latter to confine themselves to the west and south-west portions of the country. We cannot at present determine with any accuracy where the original home of the Bantu race was, but probably they were cradled in the neighbourhood of the great lakes of Central Africa. At any rate, various tribal traditions agree in affirming that, not many generations ago, the ancestors of the Bantu left a distant country where the

sun cast shadows towards the north, and, crossing the great river (Zambesi), settled in the territories which they now occupy.

The three races whose early history we have attempted to trace differed widely from each other in physique, in speech, in occupation, in tribal custom and in religion. In stature the Bushmen were little more than dwarfs, seldom exceeding four and a half feet in height ; the Hottentots, probably through inter-marriage with a taller race, had attained an average height of five feet five inches ; while the Bantu tribes range from five feet eight inches to six feet. The outstanding feature of the Bushman-Hottentot languages was their wealth of clicks, while the Bantu languages possessed no clicks but those which they had borrowed from Bushmen or Hottentots. In the Bantu languages again there is no distinction of sex, which exists in the Bushman-Hottentot languages ; and the former language-group prefixes its pronouns, while the latter group affixes them. In the scale of civilisation the Bushman ranked lowest—he was a roving huntsman, nothing more. The Hottentot had attained to the dignity of flocks and herds, with which he moved from place to place in the search for water and suitable pasture. The Bantu races had advanced a stage beyond the Hottentots. Like the latter they owned sheep and cattle, but unlike them they were no longer nomads, having begun to devote themselves to agricultural pursuits. As regards weapons the Bushman possessed only his bow and poisoned arrows ; the Hottentot added the assegai and knobkerrie ; and the Bantu warrior sometimes wielded the battle-axe as well, and defended himself with his huge ox-hide shield. The Bushman was content with a cavern for a home ; the Hottentot lived in a hut constructed of slender poles, with loose, portable mats flung over them ; the Bantu erected a more permanent habitation of poles and clay, thatched with grass or reeds. The Bushmen practised but one art, that of painting, and the many drawings in caves and upon overhanging rocks all through South Africa bear witness to their devotion to, if not their proficiency in, their one art. The Hottentots were able to make vessels of clay, and were acquainted with the elements of metallurgy ; while the Bantu attained a high degree of skill in the practice of both these arts. The difference between the

- CHAP. religion of the Bushmen and Hottentots on the one hand, and
1. that of the Bantu on the other, may be best described by saying that the former was in the main nature-worship, while the latter was spirit-worship and ancestor-worship. The Bushmen believed in an invisible Being, whom they called Kaang or Kagn, and worshipped in prayer and in a kind of sacred dance. The Hottentots worshipped the moon and a mythical Being called Heitsi-eibib (or Tsui-goab), who wrestled with and overcame an antagonist from the realms of darkness, this struggle probably typifying the victory of Dawn over Night. As compared with Hottentots and Bushmen, the Bantu were poor in myths and fables. Their religion centred around the spirits of their deceased ancestors, to which prayer was made, and sacrifices of meat, meal or beer were offered.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES.

And all through life I see a Cross,
Where Sons of God yield up their breath;
There is no gain except by loss,
There is no life except by death,
There is no vision save by faith,
No glory but by bearing shame,
No justice but by taking blame;
And that Eternal Passion saith,
Be emptied of glory and right and name.

WALTER C. SMITH.

THE first Europeans to establish themselves on South African soil—understanding by South Africa the country south of the Zambesi and Cunene Rivers—were not, as is popularly supposed, the Dutch, but the Portuguese. A century and a half before Van Riebeek landed on the shores of Table Bay, Commodore D'Annaya laid the foundations of a fort at Sofala, on the east coast, some twenty miles south of the present port of Beira. This event occurred on 21 September, 1505. The territory lying between the Zambesi and Sabi Rivers was at this time occupied by a Bantu race, whom the Portuguese styled the Mokaranga, but who called themselves the Makalanga, and were the lineal ancestors of the present Vakaranga of Southern Rhodesia. The paramount chief of this people was known by the official title of the “Monomotapa”. From this fact, and from the habit indulged in by early travellers of adorning their narratives with all manner of strange tales, grew the fable of an immense empire of Monomotapa, ruled over by a monarch of great power and magnificence, whose sway extended from Mozambique to the Cape of Good Hope. The mysterious empire of Monomotapa never existed, except on the maps of geographers who knew nothing of the country, and merely copied a variety of misleading and fictitious names from the charts of their predecessors. “When closely looked into,”

CHAP.
II.

CHAP. II. says Mr. Wilmot, "its Emperors become transformed into Kafir chiefs, and its palaces with gold-lined walls into clay huts."

From the commencement of their schemes of colonisation, the Portuguese, as a Christian nation, aimed at the ultimate conversion to the Catholic faith of the nations and tribes with whom they came in contact; and in this aim they were encouraged by their King, and by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church. For a long time, however, the Portuguese colonists of East Africa were themselves left without spiritual guides, and nothing could therefore be done for the natives. In 1540, Ignatius Loyola founded the Society of Jesus, the largest and most devoted missionary body in the Roman Catholic Church. Twenty years later, in 1560, Father Gonzalo da Silveira landed at Sofala as emissary of that Society and first Christian missionary to the natives of South Africa. This Silveira was born of noble parentage on the banks of the Tagus, and, desiring to become a missionary, was sent to India. But in response to an appeal from South-east Africa, he left India, and proceeded, as we have seen, to Sofala, accompanied by two other Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

Father Silveira's first visit as missionary was to the kraal of a native chief named Gamba, which lay at a distance of three and a half days' journey from Inhambane. This chief had obtained forcible possession of the country he then occupied, and with a view to making his tenure secure, was anxious to conciliate the Portuguese. The missionaries were accordingly well received, and the chief and his people listened to their message with the utmost courtesy. Within a very short time the chief was baptised, receiving the name of Constantino, and not long after Silveira wrote: "Thanks be to God and to the Holy Virgin, the queen, as well as the king's sons and daughters, his household, court and relations—in a word, all the subjects of that kingdom—are now Christians". Silveira's whole stay at Gamba's kraal did not exceed seven weeks, and yet during that brief period no less than 400 individuals received Christian baptism.

The devoted Father next turned his steps to the Makalanga. "I am going alone," he wrote, "to Monomotapa, where the devil, it is said, is making many conquests." With six companions he made his way up the Zambesi as far as the Portu-

guese settlement of Sena. For two months he remained at this place, waiting for the return of an embassy which had been sent to the Monomotapa to request leave to enter his country. The few Portuguese at Sena had fallen into very dissolute habits, and during his sojourn among them Silveira's influence was exercised in the direction of their moral improvement. Mindful of his calling to christianise the natives, the good Father seized the opportunity of baptising the slaves and servants of the Europeans, to the number of 500. When a satisfactory reply had come to hand from the Monomotapa, the party set forth on their way to the chief's kraal, Zimbaoe, which was reached on Christmas Day, 1560. This Zimbaoe can hardly be the Zimbabwe of to-day, which lies eighteen miles south of the township of Victoria in Southern Rhodesia, as the distance from the Zambezi is far too great to have been covered in the time taken by Silveira's party. The sixteenth century Zimbaoe was situated, in all probability, near Fura, the present Mount Darwin, which lies some 150 miles from Tete on the Zambezi.

The missionary was received with great hospitality, and valuable presents of gold dust, cattle and female slaves were pressed upon him, but courteously declined. The chief and his people were addressed through an interpreter, and the doctrines of the Christian religion were carefully explained to them, though it is doubtful whether they understood much : probably they only acquiesced in order to please. Father Silveira, however, was satisfied, and within a month of his arrival the young chief and his mother were baptised, receiving the names of Sebastian and Maria respectively. With them were baptised 300 of their councillors and attendants.

Within a short time, however, trouble began to brew for the intrepid missionary. The chief, who had not the remotest intention of surrendering his heathen customs, soon tired of Silveira's exhortations. Some Mohammedan traders, who had witnessed with alarm the sudden growth of Christianity at the Monomotapa's Court, began to poison the chief's mind against Silveira. They represented him as a great witch-doctor, who had baptised such large numbers in order to acquire a malign influence over them. The Queen-mother and her young son lent a willing ear to these suggestions, and determined upon the death of Silveira. The plot became

CHAP. known to the missionary, and Antonio Cayado, a Portuguese adventurer who lived at the chief's kraal, urged a speedy departure. Silveira, however, refused to flee, saying : " I know well that the King has determined to put me to death, but I am ready, when it shall please God, to give my life and my blood for His service".

The end could not now be long delayed. The chief only waited for some specious pretext to put his nefarious project into execution. The occasion soon offered. It was Silveira's custom to distribute calico and beads to those who allowed themselves to be baptised. Fifty individuals, who were lured by the prize to be secured, professed their desire of becoming Christians, and were admitted to baptism. The chief chose to interpret this act as a defiance of his authority, and directions were issued that the missionary should be put to death. The last scene is thus described by two eye-witnesses :—

" After Cayado had retired, the Father continued to walk before his lodgings, and that faster than customary. He sometimes raised his eyes to heaven, where he hoped shortly to see God, and he held the cross in his hands, offering his life for that Saviour who had given His life for him, and breathing forth heart-felt sighs. He subsequently retired to his chamber and prayed before the cross. Then he laid himself upon a bed of reeds and tranquilly slept. Eight soldiers who were watching then flung themselves suddenly upon him and strangled him. One of them, a barber, with whom he used frequently to converse familiarly, dragged him from the bed. Thereupon he was taken by the feet and arms and raised up, while a cord was placed round his neck, by means of which he was dragged backwards and forwards, large quantities of blood flowing from his mouth and his nose." So died the first martyr for the Christian faith in South Africa, on 16 March, 1561. His body was cast into the Monsengense River.

Meanwhile the work at Gamba's kraal had been continued by Father Fernandes, assisted by a lay brother. It soon became plain to Fernandes that the baptism of such numbers of natives had in reality produced no change in their lives. They remained firmly wedded to all their heathenish customs and beliefs, and became gradually more estranged from the missionary. His rebukes fell upon deaf ears, his influence

rapidly waned, and he soon found himself stranded amid a hostile people, friendless, foodless and fever-stricken. After a residence of two years he was recalled to India, which he reached in a condition of extreme prostration. What became of the lay brother cannot be ascertained. And so ended the first attempt to evangelise the South African natives.

CHAP.
II.

Like most of the members of the Society of Jesus, Father Silveira was a man of piety and devotion. The methods which he adopted were those of the order to which he belonged. The most renowned missionary of the Jesuit Order was Francis Xavier, who died in 1552, and the principles upon which he carried on his missionary operations were universally accepted by the members of the order. As is the case with Roman Catholics in general, Xavier attached exaggerated importance to the outward means of grace, and was too little concerned with the inward change of heart and life. Hence the stress which he laid upon baptism, and the haste with which he administered the sacred rite to his supposed converts. He is said to have baptised, during his short missionary career of ten years, no fewer than 100,000 individuals. In like manner Father Silveira's missionary efforts were characterised by zeal rather than by prudence and patience. He asked to see immediate fruit. Not tens or scores, but hundreds must be earnestly instructed, and admitted without delay to the sacrament of baptism. From such hasty and superficial work no permanent results could be expected. As far as the establishment of a Christian Church among the heathen is concerned, the Jesuit mission of the sixteenth century left no trace upon South-east Africa.

CHAPTER III.

THE MISSION OF THE DOMINICAN FATHERS.

Whosoever has received of heaven the suggestion of some practicable deed of goodness or sacrifice of mercy, bears a burthen which he can never lay down, and which will be asked at his hands when he knocks at the everlasting gate. It is the holy trust committed to him; and how is he straitened till it be accomplished!—JAMES MARTINEAU.

CHAP. AFTER the failure of the Jesuit Fathers to establish a
III. Christian Church in South-east Africa, mission operations were in abeyance until the arrival of the Order of St. Dominic in 1577. Two friars of the order, named De Couto and Maris, who were on their way from India to Madagascar, were induced by the Viceroy of India to settle at Mozambique. Here a convent was speedily erected, which became a base of operations for a vigorous mission propaganda, and from which, within a few years, other Churches were established at Sofala, Sena and Tete. The friars of the order had a twofold task: they had to minister to the spiritual needs of their compatriots, who led, generally speaking, very careless and vicious lives; and they had to labour for the evangelisation and christianisation of the natives. Some of the former class were induced to reform their manner of life, and the historian of the Dominican Order tells us of the establishment, at Sena and Tete, of “confraternities against swearing”. Of the results of their missionary efforts we shall speak further on.

The Dominican Mission at Sofala was founded in 1586 by Friar João dos Santos, who was a man of energy and address, and who published, in 1609, his instructive work “Ethiopia Oriental”. For three years and a half Dos Santos and his coadjutor Madeira laboured at Sofala, during which time they baptised no less than 1700 converts. They were subse-

quently directed by the provincial of the order to leave Sofala, and after Dos Santos had toiled for several years longer at various places in South-east Africa and India, he returned to Portugal. Many years elapsed before he saw the waters of the Zambesi again.

The most interesting name in the history of the Dominican Mission is that of Friar Nicolau do Rosario (Nicholas of the Rosary). As the Jesuits point with pride to Father Silveira as the most devoted servant of the Society in South-east Africa, so the Dominicans honour the memory of Friar Nicolau. "Many years ago," writes Luiz de Sousa, the historian of the Dominican Order, "another son of St. Dominic went to India from Lisbon, whose life to its close was a continual tragedy. He was called Friar Nicolas de Sa, or do Rosario." After travelling and preaching in India for several years, he obtained leave to return to Portugal. He embarked on the "*São Thomé*" (Captain de Veiga), along with a number of other passengers of some eminence, who were also proceeding homewards. When off the southern coast of Madagascar, the vessel sprang a leak, and it was soon discovered that she could not be kept afloat long enough to be able to reach even the nearest port. A scramble took place for a seat in the only boat which the vessel possessed. Rosario, when bidden to jump overboard and swim for the boat, refused to leave the sinking ship until he had confessed and absolved all who sought his spiritual aid. Eventually he managed to reach the boat, and the next morning the "*São Thomé*" was seen to disappear. The survivors, ninety-eight in number, succeeded in reaching the coast of what is now called Tongaland. From there they attempted to make their way northward to Sofala, a distance of many hundred miles; and after months of incredible privation, and the death of several of the party, they succeeded in reaching their goal.

On his arrival at Sofala, after the adventurous journey just described, Rosario placed himself under the direction of Dos Santos, who, as vicar of the order, had his residence there. It appears that Rosario was appointed to Tete, and we find him shortly afterwards accompanying the Captain of Tete, De Chaves, on a punitive expedition against the Mazimba tribe, who lived on the northern bank of the Zambesi. On this

CHAP. fatal journey Rosario "made himself greatly esteemed for his III. apostolical spirit throughout all the places he visited until his death" (De Sousa).

The expedition under De Chaves, which had already crossed the Zambesi, and was within a few miles of its destination, was overtaken by sudden disaster. The European members of the force were proceeding unsuspiciously in their machilas (hammocks), and had considerably out-distanced their native allies, when they entered into a dense wood through which the pathway ran. Suddenly they were met with a hail of arrows and assegais. The Mazimba had succeeded in ambushing them. Defence there was none, for every man was killed at the first attack. Rosario alone, though heavily wounded, still lived, and was borne, all bleeding, to the kraal of the Mazimba, who recognised him as a priest.

The final scene of this tragedy is thus described in De Sousa's history: "There they bound him hand and foot to a high tree-trunk, and finished killing him with arrows, in hatred of our holy religion, saying that the Portuguese only make this war upon them by the advice of their priests. He is said to have suffered death not only with patience, but with joy, his eyes upraised to heaven, considering that pure zeal to serve his neighbours and fulfil his duty, had brought him to such a pass. Thus ended his life and labours, with this merit more, and another very considerable to follow, which was, to become the food of these ferocious eaters of human flesh, roasted and boiled. But we may say of him, as of the martyrs of old: *obturaverunt ora leonum* (Heb. xi. 33), being first shot to death with arrows like St. Sebastian, and then devoured by wild beasts like St. Ignatius."

As the result of this unfortunate undertaking, two captains of the Portuguese, Santiago and De Chaves, with 130 of their followers, were slain, and the Mazimba tribe waxed so powerful that the Portuguese settlements on the Zambesi were well-nigh wiped out. These events occurred in the year 1592.

During the latter portion of the sixteenth century the Portuguese rapidly lost the maritime supremacy which they had so long maintained. The extinction, in 1580, of the Burgundian House, which had occupied the Portuguese throne for four centuries and a half, plunged the country into turmoil

and confusion. The grip of the home-land upon its colonies was being slowly loosened. Portugal's hegemony at sea was being wrested from her by the Dutch and the English. The Portuguese fortunes in India and Africa had now fallen so low as to be irremediable.

CHAP.
III.

In spite of the political misfortunes in which their country was involved, the Dominican Friars continued their missionary labours in South-east Africa with unabated vigour. In the early years of the seventeenth century the Jesuits sought persistently to regain a foothold on Zambesian territory, and in 1610 a royal instruction was deemed necessary, by which the Dominicans alone were authorised to evangelise south of the Zambesi. The Jesuits, however, in spite of the King's order, declined to withdraw, and eventually were suffered to remain at Sena, whence they frequently sent their emissaries to the Makalanga, south of the Zambesi.

While the fortunes of the Kingdom of Portugal were rapidly falling, the power and influence of the Dominicans in South-east Africa were steadily increasing. The decline of the one and the growth of the other were more closely connected than is at first sight apparent. The abrupt decline of the Portuguese power after the middle of the sixteenth century was due in great part to the destruction of the old nobility. When the scions of these old families were debarred from exercising their influence in political circles, the most intelligent and devout among them sought a refuge in the convents. From these convents they proceeded to distant colonies, where as preachers and missionaries they could lead a life of activity and usefulness. Hence it happened that during the early part of the seventeenth century the ranks of the Dominicans in South-east Africa were strengthened by the addition of many capable men.

The chief interest of these years, from a missionary point of view, centres around the efforts to convert the Makalanga to Christianity. On the whole these efforts were not successful. The friars of the order themselves state that, though the Makalanga were ready enough to make an outward profession of Christianity, that profession was followed by no real change of life. They refused to abandon their polygamy, their witchcraft, and their heathen customs and immoralities. As they had small hopes of making any permanent impression

CHAP. III. on the adults, the Dominican Friars turned their attention to the children, and were at great pains to instruct and train them. This part of their work was crowned with a greater measure of success, and in course of time a considerable number of native Africans joined the order as friars and acolytes.

When, in 1616, the reigning Monomotapa of the Makalanga, Gasilusere by name, had given permission for two of his sons to be educated as Christians, old Friar Dos Santos, who was then in India, applied for transference to South-east Africa, in order to devote himself anew to the evangelisation of the Makalanga. On his arrival at the Zambesi, he must have been greatly distressed at the turn affairs had taken. The great Makalanga tribe had been rent in two by a sanguinary civil war; and when, thanks to Portuguese intervention, the hereditary Monomotapa had been firmly re-established on his throne, a new enterprise arose to distract the attention of the friars from their missionary duties. This was an expedition which was undertaken, at the King's command, to discover and open up some silver mines situated on the Zambesi beyond Tete.

At these mines a small stockade had been built, which received the name of St. Miguel, and hither the aged Dos Santos hastened, to share the garrison's privations, and to minister to its spiritual needs. Hunger, however, soon compelled the abandonment of the stockade. Dos Santos said mass for the last time in the little church, the ornaments of the altar were removed, and the emaciated soldiers commenced their retreat along the river-bank. After a toilsome journey, during which the weakest of the party succumbed, Tete was eventually reached and safety regained.

On the death of the Monomotapa, his son and successor, Kapranzine, showed himself exceedingly ill-disposed towards the Europeans. The latter, accordingly, gave their support to his relative and rival, named Manuza, who had been educated by the Dominicans, and who, in 1629, made an open profession of Christianity, and was baptised as Philippe. The first collision between Kapranzine and Manuza resulted, however, in a signal victory for the former. Nearly all Manuza's European allies, as well as a large number of natives, were

killed; and two friars—Luis do Espirito Santo and Joao da CHAP.
III. Trinidade—were captured and tortured to death.

Manuza was restored to power by the energy and determination of Friar Manuel Sardinha, who gathered together, from the tribes inimical to the Monomotapa, a force of 20,000 natives. When the march against Kapranzine was commenced, Manuza saw a resplendent cross outlined against the sky, similar to that which appeared to the Emperor Constantine; and this was interpreted by the whole army as an omen of happiest augury. The result of the battle which ensued was, at all events, wholly favourable to Manuza, and it is said that no less than 35,000 of the opposing host were slain. No great reliance can, however, be placed upon these figures. Certain it is, at any rate, that by the aid of the Europeans and in consequence of the untiring efforts of the Friars Manuel Sardinha and Damião do Espirito Santo, the empire of the Makalanga was wrested from Kapranzine and finally bestowed upon Manuza (1631).

One of the prisoners captured in this battle was Kapranzine's eldest son, who was likewise heir to the chieftainship. This lad was sent to India, and entrusted to the Dominican fathers for instruction. He was baptised with the name of Miguel, and ultimately became a Dominican friar, and, so the historian says, the most powerful preacher in the country. In 1670 the general of the Dominican Order conferred on him the title of Master of Theology, which is equivalent to our present degree of Doctor of Divinity. Thus it happened that an African native, who was by birth destined for the chieftainship of a powerful Bantu tribe, became a preacher of the Gospel of Christ, and died as vicar of a Dominican convent in India. How wonderful, in his case, were the ways of Providence.

The rightful successor of Manuza as Monomotapa of the Makalanga was an adherent of the religion of his heathen ancestors, and this was a cause of trouble to the Dominicans, and of anxious foreboding as to the future of their missions. Shortly after his accession to the chieftainship, however, he professed conversion, and requested that he might be duly baptised. His reception into the Christian faith was made the occasion of an impressive ceremony. In company with a number of petty

CHAP. III. chiefs the Monomotapa was solemnly baptised on 4 August, 1652—the year of Van Riebeek's arrival in Table Bay—assuming the name of Domingos, while his chief wife received that of Luiza. The intelligence of their inclusion in the Christian Church was received with great joy in Europe. Special services of thanksgiving were held in Rome and Lisbon, and the general of the Dominicans ordered a commemorative inscription in Latin to be engraved on a bronze plate. This important event may be considered as the high-water mark of Dominican missionary enterprise in Southern Africa. The Portuguese nation, too, whose hold upon their possessions in the Far East was being daily weakened, hailed the baptism of Domingos with pathetic eagerness, as a proof of the firm establishment of their sway in South-east Africa. In reality their power was broken, their supremacy at sea had passed from them, the prestige they had so long enjoyed was hopelessly lost, and in the very year in which they imagined that their position in South-east Africa was assured, the Dutch, who were to become the real colonisers of South Africa, had planted their flag in the shadow of Table Mountain. The duty and privilege of christianising the natives was, in consequence, about to pass from the Roman Catholic to the Protestant Church.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY EFFORTS BY THE DUTCH COLONISTS.

A wanderer is man from his birth.
 He was born in a ship
On the breast of the river of Time:
 Brimming with wonder and joy,
He spreads out his arms to the light,
Rivets his gaze on the banks of the stream.

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

IT is a remarkable fact that a century and a half had elapsed CHAP.
since Antonio de Saldanha first cast anchor in Table Bay, IV.
before any maritime Power seriously considered the question of establishing a permanent settlement there. Some talk there had indeed been of building a fort, which it was proposed should be constructed jointly by the English and the Dutch East India Companies, and two English captains had gone so far as to plant the English flag on what is now known as Lion's Rump, but no fort was erected and no settlement commenced. Table Bay was no more than a halfway-house between Europe and the East Indies, at which outward- or homeward-bound vessels could halt for a few days or a few weeks, to replenish their supply of fresh water, and secure such cattle as they could obtain by barter from the natives.

The earliest enterprise in the direction of establishing a European settlement owed its inception to a shipwreck. In 1648, the Dutch East Indiaman "Haarlem" was stranded on the north-eastern shore of Table Bay. The crew reached the shore in safety, and made their way to the spot on which Cape Town was subsequently built. There they erected a few huts, which they surrounded with earthworks as a defence against possible attacks by the natives. The latter, however, proved friendly, and brought cattle and sheep in large numbers, which they bartered for the goods which had been rescued from the ill-

CHAP. fated " Haarlem ". For five of the pleasantest months of the year
 IV. in these southern latitudes did the men of the " Haarlem " remain
 on the shores of Table Bay, and when at length the homeward
 fleet took them away, they carried with them the happiest re-
 collections of their enforced stay.

On their arrival in Holland two of the wrecked mariners,
 named Leendert Jansz, or Janssen, and Nicolaas Proot, drew
 up a document which they entitled : " *Remonstrance*, in which is
 briefly set forth and explained the service, advantage and profit
 which will accrue to the United Chartered East India Company,
 from making a Fort and Garden at the Cabo de Boa Esperance ".
 This memorial was laid before the directors of the Company,
 and, after due consideration, the decision was arrived at, on
 30 August, 1650, to establish a victualling station at the
 Cape of Good Hope on the lines laid down by Janssen and
 Proot. The man to whom was entrusted the task of carrying
 out this important project was Jan van Riebeek, a ship's surgeon
 by profession, and a man of resolute and energetic character,
 who thus became the founder of the Colony of the Cape of
 Good Hope.

From the point of view of the student of missions, the
 memorial of Janssen and Proot is of importance because of its
 reference to the natives of the Cape Peninsula. Anticipating
 the objections which might be raised to their scheme, they
 observe :—

Others will say that the natives are savages and cannibals, and that
 no good is to be expected from them, but that we must be always on our
 guard. This, however, is only a popular error (*Jan Hage's praeijen*) as
 the contrary shall be fully shown. . . . We, of the said ship " Haarlem,"
 testify wholly to the contrary, for the natives, after we had lain there five
 months, (still) came daily with perfect amity to the fort which we had
 thrown up for our defence, in order to trade, and brought cattle and
 sheep in quantities. . . .

By maintaining a good correspondence with them, we shall be able
 in time to employ some of their children as boys and servants, and to
 educate them in the Christian Religion, by which means, if it pleases
 God Almighty to bless this good cause, as at Tayouan and Formosa,
 many souls will be brought to God, and to the Christian Reformed
 Religion, so that the formation of the said fort and garden will not only
 tend to the gain and profit of the Honourable Company, but to the
 preservation and saving of many men's lives, and what is more, to the
 magnifying of God's Holy Name, and to the propagation of His Gospel.

whereby, beyond all doubt, your Honours' trade over all India will be more and more blessed.¹

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The way in which the material interests of the Company and the spiritual interests of the natives are intertwined in the above extract, must sound somewhat strangely to our modern ears. But a brief consideration of the time and circumstances in which Janssen and Proot drew up their "Remonstance," will enable us to acquit them of any charge of insincerity or hypocrisy. In 1648 the Treaty of Munster had secured to the Netherlands the independence for which they had fought so valiantly for eighty years. The long war with Spain had been pre-eminently a struggle for religious liberty, and as the patriotism of the Dutch had taken on so strongly religious a tinge, so, conversely, their religion had assumed a pronouncedly patriotic form. Church and State were connected in the closest fashion. It was held to be the duty of the State to propagate the true Reformed Faith. The East India Company, too, was by its charter pledged to see to the establishment of the Reformed Religion among the natives of the distant East.² Janssen and Proot, accordingly, were making use of cogent arguments when they urged upon the directors of the East India Company the establishment of amicable relations with the natives of the Cape, both as a matter of public duty and as a matter of Christian privilege. We shall presently see more of this intimate connection between patriotism and religion, between State and Church. For a long period the whole history of the Reformed Church in South Africa is dominated by the conception, *Cuius regio, illius religio*; and the rigid insistence on this principle gave rise at a later stage to many difficulties and much heart-burning.

The expedition under Van Riebeek's command left Holland in three vessels—the "Dromedaris," "Reiger" and "Goede Hoop"—and, after a passage of 104 days, reached Table Bay on 6 April, 1652, which date must accordingly be considered the

¹ Moodie: "The Record," pp. 3, 4.

² Warneck: "Hist. of Protestant Missions" (Eng. trans.), p. 43.

The XIII article of the Company's Charter provided "that ministers and schoolmasters shall be settled at the most suitable places, for the admonition of the persons abiding there, and for the advancement of non-Christians and the instruction of their children, in order that the Name of Christ may be extended, and the interests of the Company promoted".

CHAP. birthday of the Colony. Three days later Commander van IV. Riebeek issued a proclamation in which, in pursuance of the policy enjoined upon him by the Chamber of Seventeen, any act calculated to offend and estrange the natives was prohibited under heavy penalties. The following is a portion of the text of the proclamation :—

And as these wild tribes are somewhat bold, thievish, and not at all to be trusted, each shall see to it that his arms and working tools be well taken care of, that they may not be stolen from him by the wild men, as we by no means nor upon any consideration desire that they should, on account of such theft—excepting with our previous knowledge and consent—be pursued, beaten, aye, even be looked upon with anger. On the contrary, each shall have his stolen arms or tools charged against his wages as a penalty, and for his carelessness receive 50 lashes at the whipping post, and forfeit his rations of wine for 8 days, or such other severer punishment as the exigency of the case may demand.

And accordingly, whoever ill-uses, beats or pushes any of the natives, be he in the right or in the wrong, shall in their presence be punished with 50 lashes, that they may thus see that such is against our will, and that we are disposed to correspond with them in all kindness and friendship, in accordance with the orders and objects of our employers.

To this end all persons soever are seriously exhorted and ordered to show them every friendship and kindness, that they may in time, through our courteous behaviour, become the sooner accustomed and attached to us.¹

The natives referred to in the above-mentioned proclamation were the Ottentooos or Hottentots, of whom some account has been given in the first chapter of this work. They called themselves the *Khoi-khoi*, i.e. the “real men,” and are best represented, at the present day, by the Namaquas. The Hottentots were divided into several independent tribes, between which, generally, the bitterest hostility prevailed. Such was the case with the Goringhaikonas and the Goringhaiquas, with whom the pioneers came into contact in the early years of the settlement. The former were known as the *Strandloopers*, or Beachrangers, and their chief was a man named Harry or Herry, who, having acquired a smattering of English on a voyage to the English East Indies, was appointed interpreter to the little community. Four days after the foundation of the settlement, several of the Saldanha Hottentots (as the Goringhaiquas were called) made their appearance, and, to the surprise and alarm of the colonists, were attacked with great

¹ Moodie: “The Record,” p. 10.

fury by the Beachrangers, who "ran towards them with such courage with hassagayes (assegais) and bows and arrows that we had much ado to stop them," as Van Riebeek states.¹ This is the first inter-tribal collision of natives of which we have any record, but the scene then witnessed has been repeated a thousand times in the subsequent history of South Africa.

The affairs of the community were directed by a Council of Policy, consisting, in the early stages, of the skippers of the three vessels, with Commander van Riebeek as president. It is worthy of note that the first meeting of this Council was opened by a solemn prayer offered by the Commander, which prayer was preserved in the minutes, and used subsequently at the commencement of every Council meeting. In it occurs the petition: "Since Thou hast called us to conduct the affairs of the East India Company here at the Cape of Good Hope, and we are now assembled that we may arrive at such decisions as shall be of most service to the Company, and shall conduce to the maintenance of justice, and the propagation and extension (if that be possible) of Thy true Reformed Christian Religion among these wild and brutal men, to the praise and glory of Thy name, we pray Thee, O most merciful Father, that Thou wouldest so enlighten our hearts with Thy fatherly wisdom, that all wrong passions, all misconceptions and all similar defects, may be warded from us, and that we may neither purpose nor decide ought but that which shall tend to magnify Thy most holy Name".²

This prayer is noteworthy in the mouth of a man who lived 150 years before the dawn of the modern era of missions. We cannot fairly judge the seventeenth century by the light of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Van Riebeek's attitude, at any rate, compares favourably with that of the Lutheran Superintendent Ursinus of Ratisbon, who declared in reply to Von Weltz: "As regards the heathen whom the missionaries would convert—they must not be such barbarians as Greenlanders, Laplanders and cannibals, who have nothing human but the human shape. Nor must they be cruel and violent men, who will suffer no stranger to come among them or consort

¹ "Journal of Van Riebeek," 8 Apr., 1652.

² Leibbrandt: "Resolutiën van den Commandeur en Raden (1652-1662)," p. 1.

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with them. Before such dogs and swine we may not cast the pearls and holy things of God.”¹ The spirit displayed by Van Riebeek was more nearly that of Justus Heurnius of Leyden, who subsequently himself became a missionary. In his “*De legatione Evangelica*” he affirmed “that God had opened for the Netherlands the wealth of the Indies, in order to extend the Kingdom of Christ in the vast lands of the East,” and he pleaded with the authorities “that the law of Christian morality might be maintained among soldiers and sailors, so that the latter might give no offence to the natives of whom the missionaries were trying to make Christians”.²

We have seen what attitude was adopted by Van Riebeek towards the natives of the Cape, and how stringent were the regulations which he issued for their treatment. Let us now inquire to what extent the principles then laid down were carried out. The band of colonists was accompanied by no regular minister. For the first thirteen years of the settlement they were dependent, for the administration of the sacraments, on clergymen who were on their way to or from the East. It is on record that, during those thirteen years, some thirty clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church, who happened to be on board vessels that touched at Table Bay, either preached or administered the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper to the exiled Dutchmen.

The Company, however, had not left its servants wholly unprovided for on the score of spiritual aid. One, Willem Barentsz. Wylant,³ had accompanied the expedition as *Zieken-trooster*, or Comforter of the Sick, an office which would now be most nearly described by the name Catechist. His duties were, besides visiting the sick, as his title implies, to conduct evening worship, at which the whole community was expected to be present, and on Sundays to read a sermon, and hear the lads repeat the answers to the questions of the Heidelberg Catechism. From a letter written by Wylant to the Classis (Presbytery) of Amsterdam in 1655, we learn casually that he had attempted, but without success, to instruct the natives in reading and writing. “They will not remain with one,”

¹ Warneck: op. cit., p. 38.

² Nachtigal: “*Oudere Zending*,” p. 16.

³ Barentsz. is the old way of writing *Barents zoon* (son of Barent, or Bernard). We would now call the man *Willem Wylant, Barend zoon*.

he says, “for twice already have I got one of their youths to stay with me, whom I desired to benefit, and to teach reading and writing, and from whom I also hoped to learn their language, in order by that means to bring them to the light of the truth. But it did not prove a success, for they are so accustomed to run wild, that they cannot place themselves in subjection to us, so that there seems to be little hope for this people. But what it may please the great God to do to them is known to his omnipotence, which is able to draw them out of the darkness, and to bring them to the light of his Son, Jesus Christ. In the meantime I shall consider it my bounden duty to employ all possible means . . . to deliver them out of the hands and bonds of Satan; for it is something to be heartily desired that it may please God some time to reveal his grace to them, since they are a very poor and miserable people, whom one can scarcely look upon without tears.”¹

It appears then that an honest attempt was made by Wylant to instruct the Hottentots in the elements of the Christian religion, but the attempt was shipwrecked on the rock of their invincible repugnance to a civilised life. Van Riebeek remarks in his “Journal”: “The Hottentos begin to speak Dutch pretty well, particularly the young children. But they will never live with us in our houses, like the birds that prefer ranging the open air to living in the finest palaces. It is also their greatest punishment when they may not, like pigs, dirty themselves and wallow in all kinds of dirt and filth.”²

It was indeed a labour of faith and love to attempt to reach the hearts of this degraded people. They were inexpressibly dirty, and their habit of besmearing their whole body with oil, until it glistened in the sunlight, made them objects of repulsion to the neat and cleanly Dutch. On one occasion, when Van Riebeek offered his hand in greeting to some of the Saldanha tribe, they instantly fell upon his neck, and so defiled the Commander’s clothes that he was obliged to cast them away. More unpleasant still was the experience, in subsequent years, of Archbell, a missionary to the Namaquas. When he introduced his wife to those natives, they mounted the wagon in which she was seated, and, covered with cowdung as they

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¹ Spoelstra: “Bouwstoffen,” Deel I, p. 4.

² “Journal,” 15 June, 1656.

CHAP. were, tried to embrace her. The indignant missionary thrust
IV. them from the wagon, and sternly forbade anyone to approach
his wife. At this the Namaquas took great umbrage ; Arch-
bell lost whatever influence he possessed, and was compelled
to seek another sphere of work.

The Hottentots were, moreover, unmitigated thieves. On a Sunday morning, when the whole company of whites was gathered together for public worship, and Wylant was reading a sermon, David Janssen, one of two lads who had been told off to herd the cattle, was murdered by the Beachrangers under Herry's captaincy, and all the Company's cattle were driven off. Some of the soldiers at once set off in pursuit of the thieves, who, however, succeeded in making good their escape, and the stolen cattle were never recovered. The colonists, naturally enough, clamoured for retaliation, but the commander, though personally not unwilling to have the death of David avenged, remained true to his policy of conciliation. Two or three of the cows which were stolen were actually repurchased, and when, after a prolonged absence, Herry coolly reappeared at the fort, he was welcomed back without remark.

The attempts then of Wylant and of his successor Pieter van der Stael, a brother-in-law of Van Riebeek, to instruct the Hottentots in the Christian religion, were followed by no tangible results. Two of the natives, however, who seemed to be more receptive than the bulk of their tribe, were sent to Batavia. There one of them died, but the other, whose name was Doman, acquired a slight veneer of civilisation, and raised considerable expectations as to his future usefulness. These hopes were doomed to disappointment, for the first act of Doman on his return to the Cape, was to discard his civilised dress and return to his primitive barbarism. The case of Doman proved to the colonists—and the testimony it bore has been corroborated in countless instances since—that civilisation, when divorced from vital religion, is utterly powerless to lift the heathen out of the state of degradation into which he has sunk.

In another case the efforts of Wylant and Van der Stael achieved happier results. A young Hottentot girl named Krotoa, but called by the settlers Eva, had been received into

the service of the Commander's wife. As she rapidly acquired a good knowledge of Dutch, her services as interpreter were in continual demand. At one time it seemed probable that Eva would follow the example of Doman, and relapse into savagery, for she clothed herself in skins, and went back to her tribe, but after an absence of three months from the fort, she returned to her mistress, and resumed the habits of civilised life. She reported that during her stay among her own people she had taught her sister, who was wife to a Hottentot chieftain, to pray to the one true God, and that when she spoke to them of things eternal, they listened "with tears in their eyes". From this time onward Eva evinced a strong desire to be taught to read and to be instructed in the truths of the Christian religion. This was a source of joy to Van Riebeek, who displayed the liveliest interest in Eva's spiritual progress. Amid all the subsequent troubles with the Hottentots this girl remained faithful to the Europeans, while at the same time doing her utmost to maintain friendly relations between them and her own nation.

In 1662, a few days before Commander van Riebeek's departure from the Cape, Eva was publicly baptised. In a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, under whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction the settlement stood, Pieter van der Stael gives the following brief account of the occurrence:—

On the 3rd of May, anno 1662, Dominie Sybelius again delivered a sermon, and baptised a grown-up woman, the first-fruits of these aborigines called Hottentoos: was named by the name of Eva: the witnesses are Roelof de Man, junior merchant and second personage of this fortress, and Pieter van der Stael, Sick-visitor, also of this fortress.¹

The event so laconically chronicled by Van der Stael was an impressive ceremony. The questions put to Eva were practically the same as are still asked to-day in the formula for the baptism of adults of the Dutch Reformed Church. After these questions had been firmly and solemnly answered, the rite was duly administered in the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and the service was concluded with an earnest prayer that "she may acknowledge the Fatherly goodness and compassion which Thou hast extended to her and to us all, and that she may live in righteousness under the sway of our

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¹ Spoelstra: "Bouwstoffen," I, p. 23.

CHAP. one Prophet, Priest and King, Jesus Christ, striving in all godly
IV. fear against sin, the devil and the devil's whole empire, and in
that struggle overcoming, to the eternal praise and glory of the
Triune God. Amen."

Some time subsequent to this occurrence, the marriage of Eva is recorded to Pieter van Meerhof, a Dane, whose acknowledged wife she had been for some years. After Eva's baptism it was possible to have the marriage contract placed upon a legal footing, and accordingly we find the Council of Policy, in April, 1664, resolving as follows :—

Appeared before the Council Pieter van Meerhof, of Copenhagen, surgeon's assistant, and the Hottentot interpreter Eva, desiring that they might be duly united in the holy state of matrimony. The Council, not having been able to learn anything but that they are both free persons, have seen fit to consent to their reasonable request. . . . And as the said Eva has now served the Company many years as interpreter, without ever having received anything except food and clothing in return, it is resolved at the same time to give her as a marriage gift a sum of 50 rixdollars, and as soon as the marriage is performed a merry bridal feast ; and further, in order to encourage the bridegroom, who has served out his time here as surgeon's assistant, he shall be, in compliance with his request, promoted to the rank of surgeon.¹

The "merry bridal feast" was duly held, on 2 June subsequently, in the house of Commander Wagenaar, who succeeded Van Riebeek. Eva's husband was shortly afterwards appointed Superintendent of Robben Island, and this removal from the fort must be looked upon as providential for the young wife, for, as we shall presently see, the colonists were rapidly deteriorating, both morally and spiritually, and their conduct was by no means an example to Eva or to the people from whom she sprang. After the death of her husband, she frequently crossed to the mainland and there yielded to that temptation to which so few Hottentots could offer resistance—the temptation of strong drink. The authorities, who could not find it in themselves to punish her severely—she had so much that was noble and attractive in her character—were forced to confine her to the Island, and there, in 1674, she died, a penitent sinner,—

Owning her weakness,
Her evil behaviour,
And leaving with meekness,
Her sins to her Saviour.

¹ Moodie : "The Record," p. 280.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY MISSIONARY EFFORT ON BEHALF OF SLAVES.

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak ;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truths they needs must think ;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

IT is now time for us to turn our attention to another class CHAP.
of natives whom the early colonists tried to evangelise, namely V.
the slaves. It must not be forgotten that down to the commencement of the nineteenth century slavery was in general vogue in the over-sea colonies of European nations, and the slave-trade was one of the most lucrative sources of income to maritime nations such as the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese. Between the years 1680 and 1700 England exported no less than 300,000 slaves from Africa.¹ Soon after the establishment of the settlement at the Cape, a few slaves were introduced from Batavia and Madagascar. In 1658 a shipload of slaves was captured from the Portuguese, and 170 of these, who were natives of Angola on the West coast, were landed in Table Bay. A few weeks subsequently another consignment of slaves arrived from West Africa, and their numbers rose to 227.

Van Riebeek felt that something must be done for the intellectual and moral welfare of this class of persons, by which the little community had been so suddenly augmented. Less than a month after the arrival of the first batch, a school was opened, of which the Sick-comforter Pieter van der Stael was appointed teacher. Of the establishment of this school we have the following entry in Van Riebeek's "Journal":—

¹ "Chambers' Encyclopædia," s.v. "Slavery".

CHAP. V. 1658. April 17. Began holding school for the young slaves, the chaplain being charged with the duty. To stimulate the slaves to attention while at school, and to induce them to learn the Christian prayers, they were promised each a glass (*een croessjen*) of brandy and two inches of tobacco, when they finish their task. All their names were taken down, and those who had no names [presumably *Christian* names], had names given them. . . . All this was done in the presence of the Commander, who will attend for some days to bring everything into order, and to bring these people into proper discipline, in which at present they appear to promise well.¹

In reading this naïve account of the first school for slaves at the Cape of Good Hope, we are again forcibly struck by the wide divergence between the ideas of the seventeenth century and the nineteenth. What present-day missionary would attempt to encourage diligence by the proffered reward of "a glass of brandy," or even "two inches of tobacco"? In Van Riebeek's day such an offer could be made without the slightest sense of incongruity. The time was coming when it would be plain to every one who had the interests of the aborigines at heart that strong drink of every kind was the last thing to which they should have free access. But that time had not yet arrived, and Van Riebeek distributed his brandy and tobacco with the same feeling of conscious kindness as animates us when we dispense coffee and cake to the pupils of our mission schools.

The introduction of such numbers of slaves brought a host of troubles in its train. The Company had now more hands than were necessary for the work to be done. About one-third of the slaves were accordingly sold to the burghers, at prices which ranged—so we are told—from £4. 3s. 4d. to £8. 6s. 8d. apiece. Regulations were issued which had for their object the protection of the slaves against ill-usage on the part of their owners. But even the most humane regulations which could be framed were powerless to render the slaves contented with their condition, or to restrain them from making efforts to regain their liberty. They began to desert in shoals, and in many cases succeeded in remaining at large in spite of the most strenuous pursuit. The baffled colonists demanded of the Commander official assistance in the attempt to recover their property. Both Commander and burghers were under the

¹ Moodie: "The Record," p. 124.

impression, which was subsequently proved to be erroneous, that the Hottentots had enticed the runaway slaves from their owners, and were now giving them harbourage.

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Between the Europeans and the Hottentots the relations now became very much strained. Three unsuspecting and quite innocent Hottentots were arrested, and retained as hostages until the slaves who had escaped should be brought back. Further complications ensued, and a slight skirmish took place at Herry's kraal. By this time, however, the burghers were convinced that the Hottentots had had nothing to do with the desertion of the slaves, but that the latter had run away, as Van Riebeek put it, "because of their vagrant nature" (*loopende natuyr*). Peace was therefore concluded between Europeans and Hottentots, and a formal treaty, consisting of eight clauses, was assented to by both parties.

The slaves, meanwhile, continued to desert, and attempted to make their way northward to the countries whence they came. The colonists were in a constant state of irritation and anxiety, and their work was at a standstill, while they scoured the country for the runaways. Many of them brought back to the fort the slaves they had succeeded in retaining or recovering, and asked the Company to take them back and cancel the deed of sale. As the total number of male residents at the Cape was less than 100, the large proportion of slaves was felt to be a menace to the public safety, and since all means to keep them in service had hitherto proved ineffectual, it was decided to enchain all male slaves except the very young and the very old.

Under such untoward circumstances as those which have just been described, it is not surprising to learn that the school for slaves inaugurated by the Commander lasted but a few weeks. After Van der Stael's departure to Batavia, the school, which had eventually been re-opened, was continued by his successor, Ernestus Back or Bax. At this school, which was attended by twelve European children, four slave children and one young Hottentot, the pupils were taught to read and write, to add up columns of guilders and stivers, and to repeat the catechism and certain prayers. The children of Europeans were obliged to pay school fees, which were fixed at one shilling per month, but native and slave children received instruc-

CHAP. V. tion gratis. After the removal of Bax, in consequence of his intemperate life, the work of sick-comforter, with its attendant duty of instructing the children, devolved upon Jan Joris Graa, and then upon Daniel Engelgraaf.

An event must now be chronicled which had an important influence upon the spiritual welfare of the community. This was the appointment of the first resident clergyman. Hitherto, as we have seen, the spiritual duties at the Cape had been undertaken by "sick-visitors," who were not even permitted to preach an extempore sermon, much less to administer Baptism or to dispense the Lord's Supper. The latter duties devolved upon Dutch chaplains who were *en route* for Holland or Batavia, and whose vessels were generally detained for some days in Table Bay. The first permanent clergyman appointed was Johan van Arckel, who reached the Cape in 1665. Van Arckel was an excellent and pious man, and his arrival was the occasion of unbounded joy to the residents, but to the deep regret of the whole community he died at the commencement of 1666, after less than six months' service. During his term of office Van Arckel baptised several slave children. As the baptism of slave children was a question which, for a time at least, violently agitated the public mind, it is necessary to describe the custom followed at the Cape.

As regards adult slaves, it was customary to baptise them upon their profession of faith in the doctrines of Christianity, and, along with Christian baptism, they received their freedom. The first recorded instance of manumission thus obtained was that of Catharina, the daughter of the Bengal slave Anthonie. After instruction by Wylant, she was duly baptised by one of the bird-of-passage clergymen, and was thenceforth known as "the honourable young woman" (*de eerbare jonge vrouw*),—the same title precisely as is used to describe the niece of Van Riebeek. Not long after this her hand was sought in marriage by one Jan Woutersen, and after the customary banns, the wedding was celebrated on a Sunday morning at the close of the usual sermon. At this time no distinction was yet made, on the score of colour only, between Europeans and slaves or natives. The sole bar to intermarriage was the question of religion, and when, by open profession of faith, this was removed, white and black were held to stand upon the same

level. The custom of manumitting all slaves who had been baptised was greatly modified at a subsequent stage; and as to the doctrine that white and black were on the same level socially as well as religiously, it was diametrically opposed to the views which prevailed among the colonists a century later. But it is a remarkable fact, nevertheless, and a fact that can be illustrated by many particular instances, that, in the early years of the Company's administration, at any rate, no one who had professed Christianity could any longer be held in bondage.

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As regards the baptism of the children of slaves usage differed. In the Eastern possessions of the Dutch a fierce dispute had arisen among the clergy as to whether the children of heathen parents should receive Christian baptism or not. In general it should be remembered that when, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese colonies began to pass into the hands of the Dutch, the latter found in existence a practice of baptising the children of heathen parentage, and so incorporating them into the Roman Catholic Church. True to the principle of *Cuius regio, illius religio*, the Dutch conceived that their Reformed religion should supplant the Roman Catholic faith wherever they had succeeded to the dominion of the Portuguese. The practice of baptising heathen children into the Christian faith was therefore continued by the clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church.

It was, however, very soon apparent that the practice of indiscriminate baptism was bringing grave dishonour upon the sacred ordinance. The Synod of Dordrecht therefore decreed "that the children of heathen parents ought not to receive baptism before they have been actually instructed in the elements of the Christian religion; and at their baptism satisfactory witnesses (i.e. god-parents) must promise to do their utmost to have these children instructed further, and must promise also not to allow them to become estranged from Christian families and Christian influence".¹ Even after the decision of the Synod of Dordrecht was made public, opinion remained divided on this knotty point. Some ministers were faithful to the synodical decree; others were guided by the common usage.

¹ Quoted in Nachtigal, p. 49.

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At the Cape the custom which prevailed was for passing clergymen to baptise the children of all slaves, admonishing the owners, at the same time, to have these children carefully instructed in the doctrines of Christianity. The dispute which had originated in the Dutch Indies now spread to the Cape. There was difference of opinion both among the burghers and in the Council of Policy, and counsel was therefore asked from the Church of Batavia. The reply to this request for advice was to the effect that the Ecclesiastical Court in Batavia had decided, in conjunction with the Classis of Amsterdam, that slave children should be baptised, provided that their masters and mistresses bound themselves to have them educated in the Christian religion.

In some of the Dutch colonies, however, this decision, far from allaying the unrest, added fuel to the flames of dissension. The burning question was everywhere hotly discussed. Communities were broken up into two opposing camps, congregations were rent asunder, and bitter feuds engendered, even between friends and relatives. At the Cape matters at first took a quiet course. The newly arrived Van Arckel held the views propounded by the Amsterdam Classis, and baptised all children presented to him for baptism, whether of Christian or of heathen parentage. This course of action commended itself to the burghers, especially since Van Arckel was a man greatly esteemed for his piety and gentle character. After his death his temporary successor, Johannes de Voocht, followed the same practice, and it seemed as if the Cape, at least, was no longer to be disturbed by a question which had created such strong feeling elsewhere.

But during De Voocht's brief term of service an unexpected incident occurred which almost succeeded in fanning the dying embers into a fierce flame. A vessel from Ceylon had brought to the Cape a certain clergyman, Philippus Baldaeus, now on his return journey to the fatherland. On Sunday afternoon 21 March, 1666, the community was assembled for public worship in the great hall of the Commander, which, adorned as it was with numerous trophies of the chase, had but small resemblance to a place of worship. The sermon was preached by Johannes de Voocht, and at its close two children were presented for Christian baptism, one the child of Christian parents, the

other the child of a female slave. The rite was to be administered by Philippus Baldaeus, either by virtue of his seniority, or because he had been requested, as a mark of respect, to officiate. He duly baptised the first infant, but when the second was brought forward to the font, he pointedly refused to perform the rite. At this audacious act there was general consternation, and the meeting broke up in confusion.

Next day the Council of Policy assembled and decided to abide by the practice hitherto followed, more especially as it was in strict accord with the orders of the Company. The text of the resolution at which they arrived proved with what indignation they had viewed the irresponsible action of Baldaeus :—

When yesterday in full ecclesiastical meeting two children, namely one born of Christian German parents, and one that of a female slave, were presented for baptism, the said Rev. Baldaeus suffered the former to enjoy Holy Baptism in due form, with the sprinkling of water and the benediction uttered ; but the latter he with real premeditation and contempt refused. For he ought previously to have inquired of the Commander, or at least of an elder or deacon, what method of administering baptism had been hitherto observed by us, inasmuch as he knew well that at such times one or more such children were ready to be brought into the church for that purpose.¹

In order to set the minds of the burghers at rest the Council decided further that on the following Sabbath the rite which had been so unexpectedly interrupted should be administered, and in accordance with this decision De Voocht baptised the slave's infant the week after.

De Voocht appears to have evinced considerable interest in the welfare of the young. He prevailed upon the Kerkeraad (or Consistory) to pass the regulation that every Hottentot child who roamed about uncared for, in the vicinity of the fort, should be adopted into any Christian family which would promise to instruct such child in the Christian truth. The school too was continued, and in many ways it was apparent that De Voocht's earnest labours were not without fruit. It is also worthy of mention that on Christmas Day, 1669, two converted Jews were baptised, receiving the names of David and Samuel respectively—the first recorded instance of the conversion of Israelites in South Africa.

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¹ Spoelstra, op. cit., p. 30.

CHAPTER VI.

GRADUAL RELAXATION OF MISSIONARY EFFORT.

For still the Lord is Lord of might;
In deeds, in deeds, He takes delight;
The plough, the spear, the laden barks,
The field, the founded city, marks:
Those He approves that ply the trade,
That rock the child, that wed the maid,
That with weak virtues, weaker hands,
Sow gladness on the peopled lands,
And still with laughter, song and shout,
Spin the great wheel of earth about.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

CHAP. FOR the first quarter of a century after the establishment of
VI. the settlement there were attempts, as we have seen, to evangelise and christianise both slaves and natives. In course of time these efforts grew feebler, and whatever zeal there may have been in the direction of missionary effort, became confined to a few individuals of nobler sentiment than the rest. The reason for this cessation of the efforts to spread the Gospel must be sought, primarily, in the low state of private morality into which the colonists speedily relapsed. As in every community which is far removed from the restraints of Christian civilisation, a grave moral deterioration soon became apparent in the Table Valley settlers.

As an instance of this we may refer to the moral relations which obtained between the white colonists and their slaves. In those early years the distinction between a white skin and a black was but lightly regarded. The question asked was rather whether the slave in question had or had not been baptised, and in consequence was or was not a member of the Church. An unbaptised slave had no social or ecclesiastical status; a baptised slave had both. With the former no marriage could be contracted, or if entered upon, was not con-

sidered legitimate. The moral consequences of this attitude towards the question of intermarriage were disastrous. Three-fourths of the children born to slave women were of illegitimate birth. Commissioner Goske, subsequently appointed governor of the Colony, was so distressed at this state of affairs that he attempted to legislate against it. He issued instructions that every slave woman, though she could not be legally married, should be mated with a man of her own class. On Sundays all slaves were to be instructed in the Christian religion, and as soon as they had attained to a measure of knowledge, and could make a public profession of their faith, they were to be baptised and then duly married. The children of slaves were to be put to school, and all half-breeds, on attaining their majority, were to become *ipso facto* free men and women.

The conditions which Goske found prevailing in the settlement are sufficient proof of the low ebb of private morality. In 1670 attention was drawn by Commissioner van den Broeck to another evil that cried for remedy. He found on investigation that the number of canteens which had been established was wholly in excess of the needs of the little community. They were to be found as far away as Rondebosch and Wynberg, and were proved to be a powerful temptation to the burghers to spend the fruits of their industry in drinking and dissipation. In consequence to the representations of the Commissioner the Council reduced the number of licensed houses to nine. But the fact that so much strong drink was consumed points to a weakening of the moral fibre of the early colonists.

Under circumstances such as these it is easy to understand that the zeal for the conversion of the heathen, whether natives or slaves, could not but be greatly relaxed among the colonists in general, and tended to be confined to a few individuals of exceptional spiritual force. Moreover, the slaves and Hottentots, who had before them the example of such dissolute masters and employers, must have become wholly indifferent towards a religion which exercised, apparently, so little influence over the lives of those who professed it. In proportion as deterioration set in among the colonists, the attraction which Christianity may have possessed for the native mind must have grown feebler; and feebler too must

CHAP. VI. have grown the hopes entertained by the nobler section of the colonists that the heathen would eventually accept the Christian religion.

About this time also the relations between burghers and Hottentots became greatly strained. Towards this result many causes were contributory. In great part it was due to the inveterate propensity of the Hottentots to steal and plunder. The little community had by this time begun to realise its strength, and to feel some sense of security. There was a garrison of 300 men in the settlement, and the burghers formed in addition a corps of militia 100 strong. The colonists were therefore but little inclined to follow the counsels of forbearance and peaceableness given by a directorate 6000 miles distant, and would brook no molestation on the part of the natives. On one occasion five Hottentots were caught in the act of sheep-stealing, carried to the fort, and there sentenced to flogging, branding, and banishment in chains to Robben Island, some for fifteen and the others for seven years. This punishment seems to us harsh in the extreme, but it was the custom of the age to punish excessively, and many of the sentences pronounced in those days, even on burghers and soldiers convicted of misdemeanours, appear to be absolutely repulsive in their severity.¹ The five men thus sentenced succeeded in effecting their escape from the island a few months subsequently.

The suspicion and dislike with which the Hottentots were coming to regard the Dutch must have been greatly intensified by the manner in which the latter were quietly acquiring territory. By an act of finesse, if not of positive injustice, the Council became possessed of the whole tract of country bordering on Table Bay, Hout Bay and Saldanha Bay. An agreement, still preserved in the Registry of Deeds in Cape Town, was entered into with the Hottentot chief Schacher, by which the latter made over to the Company his right and title to the above-mentioned territory in consideration of the payment of 4000 reals of eight (£800). Schacher most probably recognised that the agreement only gave to the colonists a portion of country which they already occupied, and from

¹ See Appendix, *Note A.*

which he was powerless to dislodge them. He assented to the terms of the contract the more readily since it guaranteed to him, among other privileges, the aid of the colonists in the event of his becoming embroiled in war with any other of the Hottentot tribes. In a memorandum to the Chamber of Seventeen it is stated that the goods actually paid to Schacher for the cession of this territory amounted to no more in value than £2. 16s. 5d. A few days later another cession was effected, by which Hottentots Holland and the shores of False Bay were in like manner made over to the Company for, nominally, a similar amount of £800; the actual purchase price being goods valued at £6. 16s. 4d.

In spite of the deception practised upon him, chief Schacher nevertheless continued upon a friendly footing with the colonists. No doubt he felt that the agreement with the Dutch was a treaty by which the latter emphatically allied themselves with the tribe over which he ruled, to the exclusion of other tribes and clans. He had, moreover, been sufficiently long in contact with the colonists to know that, on the whole, they were actuated by friendly feelings towards the native races, and that they could be utterly relied upon to fulfil their promises. Whatever may have been the reason for his loyalty, certain it is that chief Schacher remained faithful to the settlers during the troublous times through which they were about to pass.

Towards the end of 1672 hostilities arose between the colonists and the Hottentots under Gonnema. This chief occupied the country situated along the Berg River and around the mountain known as Riebeeks Kasteel, though in the search for pasture he often wandered farther west and south. Gonnema was evidently greatly annoyed at the advent of the settlers in the territory which he considered as his especial preserve. From time to time the burghers obtained permission from the Council to hunt hippopotami, which at that time abounded in the Berg River. A hunting party which lay encamped in this vicinity was seized by Gonnema; wagon, oxen and goods were confiscated, and the unfortunate hunters barely allowed to escape with their lives. As the colonists did not at the time feel strong enough to attempt reprisals, Gonnema waxed bolder. Some months later a party of burghers obtained leave to hunt large game, and proceeding northward,

CHAP. VI. crossed the Berg River and entered the mountains beyond on their quest for antelopes. They were here surrounded by Gonnema's people, detained for some days, and then murdered in cold blood, at a place which for years after was known as "Moord Kuil" (the Cave of Murder). The news of this disaster had barely reached the fort, when a boat from Saldanha Bay reported another murder of four of the Company's servants by men of the same Hottentot tribe.

The little community, on the receipt of these tidings of evil, was filled with consternation. An armed force of soldiers and burghers was quickly got together, and placed under the command of Ensign Cruse, whose instructions were to "direct a vigorous attack upon Gonnema, his people and his allies, and to do them all possible injury, not sparing anything male". The Hottentots, however, who had become aware of the approach of the enemy, made good their escape, and the colonists effected little more than the capture of 800 cattle and 900 sheep.

The hostilities which thus commenced continued with but little intermission for four years. Gonnema managed to evade capture by any of the expeditions sent against him. At length, in 1677, Governor Bax van Herentals concluded a peace with the chieftain, by which the latter bound himself to pay an annual tribute of thirty head of cattle to the Company. In this treaty were included those Hottentot chiefs who had remained loyal to the Dutch (viz. Schacher, Cuyper and Houtbeen); but they were carefully warned to hold no communication with Gonnema's people while the latter passed their kraals, "since there is no reliance to be placed on the fidelity of these savage Africans, and we must continue to keep a close watch upon them".¹

During the term of office of Governor Bax van Herentals four burghers who were hippo-hunting on the banks of the Breede River were surprised by Bushmen and murdered. In the early years of the settlement such murders by Bushmen were generally set down to the Hottentots, who were supposed to have instigated the former to ambush and kill the white stranger. But it soon became evident that there was no such

¹ "Journal," 26 June, 1677, *apud* Moodie, "Record," p. 353.

complacency between the Hottentot and Bushman races. On the contrary, there raged between them a feud far more deadly than the fiercest hostility between Hottentots and colonists. The Hottentots styled their hereditary foes the Obiquas,¹ or *murderers*; and this name is a good description of the habitual pursuits of this diminutive race of men. From the earliest time they committed depredations upon the sheep and cattle, not only of the Hottentots, but also of the colonists. Expeditions were frequently sent against them, especially after some flagrant act of brigandage and murder, but it was well-nigh impossible to inflict any punishment on so elusive an enemy. The colonists then adopted the plan of authorising their Hottentot allies, and notably Captain Klaas, to exact reprisals from the offending Bushmen. This Klaas on several occasions succeeded in doing, though at times he was worsted, and once had even to abandon his kraals and flee to a safer neighbourhood. Klaas took his revenge by enticing eleven Bushmen to his kraal, preparing a feast for them, and then butchering them in cold blood—all but three who managed to escape. This act of baseness was, sad to state, rewarded by the Council of Policy, and Klaas was enriched to the extent of 20 lb. of tobacco, a keg of arrack and 150 lb. of rice. It is plain from this that the Bushmen were already regarded as outlaws, and that the enmity which the colonists felt towards them was steadily increasing, until it culminated in the systematic punitive expeditions which were undertaken by a later generation.

While, owing to the causes enumerated in the preceding pages, all efforts for the conversion of the native races had ceased, the poor slaves were also suffering from moral and spiritual neglect. They were not, however, wholly without the means of grace. The majority of the slaves belonged to the Company, and the latter found it good policy to instruct its dependents in the truths of Christianity. We have seen that provisions were enacted by which all slaves were to receive instruction on the Sabbath. But such efforts to christianise the slave population must have been lifeless and mechanical to a degree. Some men indeed there were who looked upon

¹ More accurately “|| obiquas”; the || representing the lateral click, much like the sound employed to urge a horse forward.

CHAP. VI. the slaves as souls to be saved, and sought to lead them to repentance and faith. Of such disposition were the ministers Hulsenaar and Overney, who, though appointed for the white population only, gave their whole-hearted interest and assistance to the school for slaves.

Meanwhile the social condition of the slaves called for new legislation on the question of emancipation. The slave who received baptism into the Church was thereby set free. For the first twenty-five years of the settlement emancipation was of frequent occurrence. The directors even projected a plan of settling a large number of freed men on a suitable site, and assisting them to undertake agricultural operations on an extensive scale. But it soon became apparent that indiscriminate emancipation was doing grave harm to the colony. Many of the freed slaves had fallen into idle and dissolute habits, and, far from being able and willing to support themselves, demanded pecuniary assistance from the poor fund, and so became an intolerable burden on the community. The consequence of this was that laws of greater stringency were put in force to check too hasty manumission.

During the visit of Governor-general van Goens, in 1682, and the sojourn at the Cape, three years later, of High Commissioner H. A. van Rheede, it was enacted :—

That every half-breed could claim emancipation at the age of 25 (if a male) or 22 (if a female), provided he or she professed Christianity and could speak Dutch.

That slaves imported from abroad, after thirty years' service, and negro slaves born at the Cape on attaining the age of 40, were to have their freedom (as a favour, not a right) upon payment of £8. 6s. 8d., and provided they professed Christianity and spoke Dutch.

That slave children under 12 were to be put to school, and those over 12 to be instructed twice a week. All were to attend church twice on Sundays, and to be taught the Heidelberg Catechism.

That marriage between Europeans and freed slaves of full colour was prohibited, but it was allowed between Europeans and half-breeds.

That care was to be taken not to drive slaves to desert by cruel treatment. But fugitive slaves recaptured could be flogged and en-chained, as a warning to others. Slaves of private persons could be moderately punished, but could not be flogged without the consent of the Commander.¹

The same Van Goens, who as Governor-general of Netherlands India took precedence of the Commander of the Cape,

¹ Theal: "History" (before 1795), II, p. 273; Moodie: "Record," p. 388.

left the following "Considerations for the Information and CHAP.
Guidance of Commander Simon van der Stel" :— VI.

A great extent of country is, to all appearance, inhabited or occupied by none but tribes of poor ignorant Hottentots in their migratory mode of life, but still it is abundantly stocked with oxen, cows, steers, elands, harts, sheep, all kinds of deer, hares, birds and other useful animals. The Company and the burghers being thus supplied with abundance of land, time, and the future condition of the Company and of the Fatherland, will point out what else is necessary. . . . It would be a very desirable thing if we could induce the Hottentots to adopt some kind of civilised habits, and thus teach them to be faithful to us, which would give us much security [i.e. in case of an invasion by any European Power]: but of this there appear as yet but slender hopes, from the great barbarism and rude manners of those people. What may be effected upon those ignorant men in time, and with skilful management, depends upon the will of Providence ;—but nothing will be accomplished by any kind of severity ; and it will be necessary to exhibit much patient forbearance, discretion, and especially affability.¹

During the term of office of Simon van der Stel an event transpired which was fraught with important consequences for the welfare of the whole community at the Cape, and indirectly of the natives also. This was the arrival, during 1688 and subsequent years, of the Huguenot emigrants. It is not necessary to enter here into the reasons which prompted the Chamber of Seventeen to send out these emigrants to South Africa. Suffice it is to say that they were generously treated by the directors in Amsterdam, who in a despatch dated 16 November, 1687, say: "We have resolved to send you, in addition to other freemen, some French and Piedmontese refugees, all of the Reformed religion, for the exercise of which we have allowed them a minister. . . . It will be your duty, as these people are destitute of everything, to render them assistance on their arrival, and to furnish them with what they require for their subsistence, until they are settled and can gain their own livelihood."²

The new arrivals soon proved that they were industrious and enterprising. They were, moreover, men of upright character and undoubted piety, whose Christian faith had endured the test of persecution, loss of goods, and banishment. There can be no doubt that their advent was an unmixed blessing to

¹ Moodie: "Record," p. 387.

² Quoted in Wilmot's "History," p. 107.

CHAP. VI. South Africa. At first they were in extremely destitute circumstances, in which they received generous assistance from the Board of Deacons in Batavia, who sent the sum of £1250—a munificent amount for those days—to be distributed among the emigrants in proportion to their needs. The Huguenots, however, soon surmounted their initial difficulties, and the tract of country assigned to them, which lay along the course of the Berg River, soon became conspicuous for its neat homesteads and carefully cultivated gardens.

The Huguenots were settled on a portion of land which the Hottentots had been ordered to evacuate. It was the intention of the Government that the emigrants should act as a buffer settlement between the older colonists and the natives ; and it is a testimony to the forbearance of the new arrivals that the relations between the white and native populations were never more friendly than during the latter years of the seventeenth and the first decade of the eighteenth centuries. The Hottentots were, however, very slow at taking service with the colonists in general. They were by nature so accustomed to a careless and idle existence, that the labour demanded of them by their white masters was always irksome. Only by the promise of good remuneration, and especially by the additional bribe of brandy or tobacco, could they be induced to undertake the lighter forms of toil.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century it was clearly apparent that the Hottentot clans were in a state of decline. This was due to more than one cause. There was, first of all, their gradual impoverishment. For half a century the officials of the Company had bartered with them, and the cattle which once they possessed in great abundance had been either decimated by disease or sold to the white man. Game had become very scarce in the more settled parts of the colony ; for agricultural pursuits the Hottentot had neither liking nor ability ; his constitutional disinclination to work for the colonists has been already mentioned. What wonder that the Hottentot tribes were soon reduced to destitution. Secondly, the Hottentot could often be induced to undertake manual labour only by the offer of brandy or tobacco, and unhappily the colonists were none too chary about satisfying the appetites of their dependents with these stimulants. Brandy was first

distilled at the Cape in 1672 ; the taverns at which it could be procured abounded in the vicinity of the fort ; and there can be no doubt that this facility of access to ardent spirits was a fruitful cause of the demoralisation of the Hottentots. Finally, the Hottentot tribes were visited, in common with the rest of the Colony, by a terrible epidemic of small-pox, which spread devastation far and wide.

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This dreadful scourge fell upon the settlement in 1713, introduced apparently by some vessel or vessels which had sailed from India with small-pox patients on board. The patients were supposed to have recovered, and on their arrival in Table Bay their clothing, instead of being destroyed, was handed to some slaves to be washed. The disease at once attacked the Company's slaves, 570 in number, of whom no less than 200 were carried off in the next few months. From the slaves the epidemic spread to the Europeans, until almost every home was infected. Business was at a standstill ; traffic was wholly suspended ; the streets were as silent as in a city of the dead. At length it became impossible to obtain nurses for the sick, no matter what prices were offered ; and soon the materials for constructing coffins were exhausted, and the dead had to be consigned to earth wrapped only in a shroud. Courts of justice closed their doors, for debts and disputes were all forgotten in the presence of the great Commander "who could pay all their debts with the roll of his drum". Nearly one-fourth of the inhabitants of the town were mown down by the fell disease, and only when the winter storms were over and the warm weather had set in, did the virulence of its attack diminish.

The greatest havoc, however, was wrought among the poor Hottentots. The sanitary conditions under which the Europeans, and even the slaves, lived, enabled them to offer some measure of resistance to the ravages of the small-pox. But sanitary conditions were wholly absent in the case of the Hottentots. Their kraals were in an indescribable condition of squalor and filth, and were perfect hotbeds for the propagation of the disease. With them, to be attacked by the small-pox and to succumb were almost synonymous terms. Whole communities were wiped out. The survivors fled across the mountains, only to be faced with the arrows and assegais of

CHAP. VI. the tribes which had not yet been visited by the dread enemy. But this last desperate attempt to stop the spread of the disease was likewise doomed to failure. Even the most distant inland tribes suffered such attenuation, that their very names disappeared, and from this time cease to figure in the old records. When the first frantic attempt to evade the plague had proved futile, the Hottentots in Table Valley sat down in mute despair and made no further effort to save themselves. The dead were left unburied in their huts and kraals, until the stench in some instances became so overpowering that a batch of slaves had to be told off to inter the corpses. From this date the Hottentots no longer existed as large and powerful tribes and organised communities. A few scattered remnants roaming hither and thither represented all that was left of the Hottentot race, and out of these few individuals all national spirit had been crushed by the overwhelming calamity. Henceforth we find the colonists suffering from depredations by the Bushmen, and subsequently coming into collision with the Kafirs, but troubles with the Hottentots are a thing of the past.

Before concluding this chapter it may be well to answer the question, which has sometimes been asked,¹ why no systematic attempt was made by the Company or the colonists to carry the Gospel to the native tribes. It is well to remember that we are still occupied with a period that preceded the dawn of the modern missionary era by a hundred years. But, apart from this, it is necessary to glance at the spiritual needs of the Colony at the commencement of the eighteenth century in order to understand how little could be expected of the colonists in the way of mission enterprise. In 1743 Governor-general van Imhof called at the Cape on his way from India, and, after a tour of inspection, reported on the condition of the colonists. The account he gave of their spiritual situation was a dark one. The Colony at this time consisted of some 4000 farmers and 1500 servants of the Company. For this large number of individuals, who were scattered through the whole territory from Table Valley to the Breede River, there were but three clergymen, stationed at

¹ As by Nachtigal, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

the Cape, at Stellenbosch, and at Drakenstein respectively. CHAP.
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There were more than 400 farms now occupied by Europeans, and many of the inhabitants were three or four days' journey from the nearest place of worship. In the outlying districts there were no schools whatever, and the children either ran wholly wild, or received instruction from no better teacher than a vagrant soldier or sailor who had been engaged for a short time.

This state of affairs gave Governor van Imhof great concern. He summoned the Revs. le Sueur and van Gendt to a conference, and, after careful consultation, issued a number of instructions to the Council of Policy. The chief of these instructions were: that new churches were to be erected at suitable centres as soon as possible; that at each of these churches were to be stationed a clergyman and a catechist (*ziekentrooster*), the latter to act also as schoolmaster; and that the clergymen were to be secured from the first East Indiaman that might call at the Cape with a chaplain or chaplains on board. The need for measures of such urgency as these is sufficient proof of the backward condition of the colonists in things spiritual, and must to some extent extenuate, if it does not wholly excuse, their neglect to evangelise the natives.

Towards the close of this period, barren and retrograde as it was with reference to missionary enterprise, there were some friends of the Hottentots whose names must receive honourable mention. Petrus Kalden, who from 1695 to 1707 was clergyman at the Cape, devoted himself to an earnest study of the Hottentot language, with the avowed object, as he states in letters to the Amsterdam Classis, of "being of service to this heathen nation, who still abide in such dark ignorance, without knowledge of the true God, and strangers to the covenants of grace".¹ Unfortunately, however, for his missionary intentions, he was drawn into a violent dispute with a contentious colleague, and in 1708 was compelled to return to Holland in order to clear his character. The Hottentots were thus deprived of the services of one who had grappled with the difficulties of their language, and might well have become their earliest spiritual teacher.

¹ Spoelstra, I, pp. 37, 57.

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In 1709 the Cape was visited by the Danish missionary Johann Georg Böving, who, on his way from Tranquebar, spent three weeks on the shores of Table Bay. He describes the large number of slaves which the colonists possessed, and is of opinion that with little trouble a flourishing congregation might be gathered from among them. The greatest hindrance to this consummation he believes to be the indifferent attitude of the colonists themselves, who oppose the evangelisation of their slaves on the ground that those who have received Christian baptism cannot thereafter be bought and sold. "This lovelessness and grievous sin," writes Böving, "I rebuked not only in private but also in public, in a sermon which I preached by request from James, last chapter, *aliisque locis*; though I greatly fear the thorns will choke the seed strown."¹ His main interest was in the Hottentots, of whose religion, or lack of religion, he gives a brief description. He also addressed them through an interpreter, and was greatly disappointed and disheartened by the manner in which his exhortations were received. "When I spoke to them on the saving knowledge of God, my words were annoying and unacceptable, and some even laughed at me most heartily." Böving was not the first, nor was he the last, to learn that dark minds are not illuminated nor hard hearts subdued by the labours of a few short weeks.

Another man whose voice was heard at this time pleading for a mission to the natives was the learned and pious clergyman François Valentijn, who paid four visits to the Cape, in 1685, 1695, 1705 and 1714, and has left us one of the most reliable descriptions of the settlement in his "Beschrijvinge van de Kaap de Goede Hoop" (1726). At the close of his work² he enumerates some instances of Hottentots who after instruction in the Christian faith were baptised and admitted to the Church of Christ, and then remarks :—

It appears then that some elements of knowledge can be imparted to these people, however stupid and ignorant they have hitherto been considered. The (local) clergymen should direct all their powers towards this object; for this salutary work, when once thoroughly set in motion,

¹ Böving: "Curieuse Beschreibung und Nachricht von den Hottentotten," (1712), p. 3.

² Op. cit., pp. 158-60.

will eventually make far better progress than is expected. Both as regards the Hottentots and as regards the Company's slaves, such a work is one of the greatest and most glorious enterprises which a clergyman could engage in, and his reward with God would be great. Upon this undertaking may it please God to grant His richest blessing (p. 159).

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In conclusion we may confidently affirm that, though there were many colonists who during this period belied their profession of Christianity by their conduct, there were also individuals and families who acknowledged, and strove to discharge, their debt towards the heathen. The pages of Kolbe and Valentijn contain many touching stories which prove that the Europeans acted towards their dependents in a compassionate and humanitarian manner. One example must suffice. Not far from the Drakenstein settlement was situated a Hottentot kraal. Both communities fell almost simultaneously under the scourge of the small-pox epidemic of 1713. Within a brief time a report was despatched to the governor that there was not a single European at Drakenstein who had not been attacked by the awful disease. Presently, however, a change for the better set in. The wife of the burgher François du Toit, when convalescent, resolved to visit the Hottentots in order to render what aid she could. On her arrival at the Hottentot kraal, she found the unfortunate inhabitants all dead, and lying unburied in and around their huts,—all but one child, who crawled moaning from hut to hut, crying for food and water. The noble woman lifted the infant in her arms, bore it to her home, and trained it as her own child. Nor is this case a solitary instance: it can be paralleled with others in which pious colonists adopted as their own the foundling children of callous Hottentot parents, and educated them as Christians. Even during the darkest period of moral and religious declension, the light of love to Christ and duty to man burnt brightly in many hearts, and courageous hands sought to bear that great light to such as sat in darkness and the power of death.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FIRST MISSIONARY TO THE HOTENTOTS.

Darauf soll unsre unermüdete Arbeit gehen durch die ganze Welt, dass wir die Herzen für den gewinnen, der sein Leben für unsere Seelen dahingegeben.
—COUNT ZINZENDORF.

Die Menschenliebe folgt erst aus der Jesusliebe, denn diese Liebe macht Jesusähnlich, giebt barmherzigen Rettersinn, demütigen Dienersinn und selbstlosen Opfersinn.—GUSTAV WARNECK.

CHAP. VII. THE first direct and sustained effort to reach the Hottentots dates from the arrival of George Schmidt in 1737. Some thirty years previous to that date those devoted men, Ziegenbalg and Plütschau—the first Protestant missionaries to India—had called at the Cape on their way to their own field of labour. What they learnt of the moral and spiritual condition of the Hottentots induced them to address an earnest appeal to the Christians of Holland to carry the Gospel to that degraded and rapidly deteriorating race. The appeal did not fall upon unheeding ears. Two members of the Reformed Church of Amsterdam, Van Alphen and De Bruyn, were touched by the clamant need of natives belonging to one of their own Dutch colonies, and they decided to make an attempt at securing a missionary to proceed to the Cape. But where should they find the right man for so arduous an undertaking? Their thoughts turned to the little Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, at Herrnhut, then already distinguished for its ardent missionary spirit, and to Count Zinzendorf they directed their request for a labourer for distant South Africa. The man chosen to be the pioneer of the new enterprise was George Schmidt.

Schmidt was born at a town in Moravia in 1709. At an early age he began to meditate deeply on his spiritual welfare, and in his sixteenth year he found his way to Herrnhut, where he soon came to be recognised as a young man of exceptional piety and devotion. Some years subsequently he volunteered to accompany Melchior Nitschmann on a visit of consolation

to the oppressed Protestants dwelling in another part of Austria. It was a perilous undertaking, for their route led them through the territory of their implacable foes. In Bohemia they were unhappily discovered by the Roman Catholic authorities, seized and cast into prison. Here they suffered nameless indignities. They were loaded with chains, and bidden to perform the meanest and the most toilsome tasks with their manacled hands; and when at times, through weariness and prostration, their efforts were relaxed, they were forced to continue by kicks and blows. They were fed on bread and water, and lodged at night in cold and foul cells. Death soon set the elder man free from his miseries, but Schmidt continued to languish in prison for six long years. He regained his liberty in 1734, when but 25 years old. A year later came the call to devote himself to the evangelisation of the Hottentots—a call which he joyfully accepted.

Schmidt now proceeded to Amsterdam, and presented himself before the Council of Seventeen, declaring that, “constrained by love to Christ and to the poor heathen, he desired to go to the Cape in order to preach the Gospel to the Hottentots”. The Seventeen appointed a committee of Reformed clergymen to examine him as to the faith he professed and the motives which actuated him. The examination proved thoroughly satisfactory: Schmidt’s sincerity and earnestness made a favourable impression upon the divines, and they heartily wished him godspeed on his mission. The directors thereupon granted him leave to proceed to South Africa, and supplied him with the following letter of recommendation to the governor of the Cape:—

In pursuance of the Resolution of the Council of Seventeen, under date 11 September of this year, permission has been granted, at his request, to the person of George Schmidt to proceed to your Government free of passage and board; and since the inclination of the aforesaid Schmidt is directed towards the pious object of, and may possibly be a blessed means for, leading the ignorant and uncivilised heathens to conversion, or at least to a more moral and better life, we have allowed him to proceed to you by this vessel, with recommendation that you grant him every help and assistance in this good purpose.

MIDDLEBURG, 3 DECEMBER, 1736.

To GOVERNOR JAN DE LA FONTAINE AND COUNCIL.¹

¹ Faure: “Tweede Eeuwfeest,” p. 60.

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The vessel referred to was “*t Huis te Rensburg*,” which left Holland in March, 1737, and cast anchor in Table Bay on 9 July of the same year, after a passage of 120 days.

Schmidt at once repaired to the castle, and handed in his letter of recommendation. He was cordially received both by De la Fontaine and his successor Van Kervel. Leaving them he wandered idly through the town, and, when evening fell, entered an hotel. Here he overheard a discussion of which he was himself the subject. The news had got abroad that by “*t Huis te Rensburg*” a person had arrived whose purpose it was to instruct the Hottentots. “What will he effect?” they said to one another, “there’s nothing to be done for the Hottentots: they are a stupid people; they have no money, and this man proposes to bear his own expenses.” Schmidt now thought it time to introduce himself to the assembled company, and by his evident sincerity soon silenced their objections. Within a few days the missionary to the Hottentots was known throughout the town. Earnest-minded Christians learnt of this new departure with gratitude and joy, and Schmidt was made welcome in several homes. The staunchest of his friends was Captain Johannes Tobias Rhenius, a member of the Council of Policy, and an influential man, whose house from that time forth was Schmidt’s home during his visits to Table Valley.

The arrival of Schmidt is thus chronicled in the minutes of the Council :—

And since by the said vessel “*t Huis te Rensburg*” there has come to land here a certain person named George Schmidt, with the purpose—if that be possible—of converting the Hottentots from heathendom to Christianity, we trust that his efforts may have the desired result, in order that the people may thus be brought to the true knowledge of God; for which reason all possible assistance shall be rendered to the aforesaid person for the prosecution of that pious work and the attainment of its good object.¹

During his stay in Cape Town² Schmidt also made the acquaintance of the local pastors of the Dutch Reformed Church, Le Sueur and Kok, and discussed with them his projects for the evangelisation of the Hottentots. “One of them,” says Schmidt in his journal, “was of opinion that we should com-

¹ Theal: “History before 1795,” Vol. II, p. 518; Nachtigal, p. 89.

² For convenience sake we use the name by which the town was subsequently known, Kaapstad, i.e. Cape Town.

mence with the Christians, and also raised the difficulty of the administration of baptism."¹ These last words suggest, what the history of the period proves, that the Council of Seventeen in Holland, and *a fortiori* the Dutch pastors at the Cape, still adhered firmly to the principle of *Cuius regio, illius religio*, to which reference was made in a former chapter. There were at this time in Cape Town a large number of Germans and Danes who professed the Lutheran religion, and they were naturally exceedingly anxious to have a minister of their own persuasion. A strong petition of theirs was, however, refused, and though they made repeated representations to the directors, fifty years elapsed before they obtained leave to build their own house of worship and call their own clergyman. The utmost that the Council of Seventeen would concede at first was that Lutheran chaplains calling at the Cape might gather together those belonging to their own fold, and conduct public worship for them in some private house. The Dutch Reformed faith was considered the established religion of the Cape, and no other could be tolerated.

From Schmidt's own account it is plain that he must have discussed with the two Cape Town pastors the question of baptising his Hottentot converts, nor can it be doubted that he was acquainted with their attitude towards other Churches than the Dutch Reformed. From the fact that at a later period the Reformed pastors demanded of Schmidt that he should present his Hottentot converts to them to be baptised, it seems probable that they stipulated this at the outset; but whether the stipulation was agreed to or not we cannot now positively ascertain.

By September of 1737 Schmidt's plans were so far advanced that he could proceed to his chosen sphere of labour. On the 13th of that month he reached Zoetemelks-vlei, which was the Company's post on the River Zonder End, where he soon built himself a hut and laid out a garden. In his journal Schmidt gives us some idea of his methods of work. He says :—

Every evening I visited the Hottentots, sat down among them, distributed tobacco, and began to smoke with them. I told them that, moved by sincere love, I had come to them to make them acquainted

¹ "Schmidt's Diary," quoted in "Kaapsche Cyclopaedie," No. 48.

CHAP. VII. with their Saviour, and to assist them to work. Upon this Afrika [one of the two Hottentots who had accompanied Schmidt from Cape Town] replied : "That is good, *Baas*" (sir). I asked them if they knew that there was a great *Baas*, who had given them their cattle and all they possessed. "Yes," answered Afrika. "What do you call him?" "We call him *Tui'qua*," was the reply. Thereupon I rejoined : "Oh, dear people, this *Tui'qua* is our Saviour; He became man, and for us men He died upon the cross!"

As soon as I had got my hut and my garden into order, I attempted to master the Hottentot language, seeing that very few of the Hottentots understand Dutch. They have three kinds of clicks, which I could not imitate; and I soon perceived that their language was too difficult for me to acquire. I therefore commenced to teach them to speak Dutch.¹

After a stay of seven months at Zoetemelks-vlei, Schmidt decided to settle at a point several miles farther down the valley of the Zonder End River. In spite of the fact that the sergeant in command of the outpost, Kampen by name, had been powerfully influenced by him, and soon after professed conversion, Schmidt decided that it was wisest that the scene of his missionary efforts should be farther removed from the Company's station, and in greater proximity to a Hottentot settlement. He therefore selected the remote and picturesque valley known as Baviaans Kloof. Here he erected his simple hut, and set about laying out a garden. At this time he also planted a pear-tree, which survived the vicissitudes of many years, and subsequently became renowned in the history of the Baviaans Kloof Mission.

The most formidable obstacle to the christianisation of the Hottentots lay in the character of the people themselves. They were enslaved to many forms of vice, and especially to strong drink, and evinced moreover an irresistible repugnance to a settled life. Schmidt tells us in his journal that they had no inclination to work, in consequence of which they frequently suffered the pangs of hunger, when they would come to him and expect to be supplied from his own slender store. "The Hottentots"—so the journal continues—"are phlegmatic by nature and can sleep for a great length of time. At nights they divert themselves by dancing and singing in the moonlight. Their wealth consists of cows, oxen and sheep. Their food is milk, meat and roots—the anise-root being the best of

¹ "Kaapsche Cyclopaedie," No. 48, p. 2.

these last. They have no religion or religious customs, believing only in the great Lord over all things, *Tui'qua*, and in a devil, whom they call *Gauna*. Heaven they call *Muma*."

In spite, however, of the apathy of his flock, Schmidt's labour of love and patience of hope continued unabated. By preaching on the Sabbath and instruction in the week-evenings he in course of time gathered a small circle of adults and children around him. In three of these adults, Willem, Afrika and Kibido (or Cupido), he seemed to observe that the entrance of God's Word had brought light, and he naturally desired to administer the rite of baptism to them, and so to admit them to full membership in the visible Church of Christ. He was, however, not ordained and could not therefore baptise. To call in the offices of one of the regular ministers of the Cape, belonging as they did to a different communion, was a distasteful alternative. Schmidt therefore applied to Zinzendorf for an ordination licence.

The Moravian Brethren meanwhile were passing through troublous times in Europe. Count Zinzendorf had given utterance to many peculiar views, and had introduced practices which could not commend themselves to many earnest Christians. Kurtz, in his "Church History,"¹ says: "The Brethren, at this time, afforded only too much ground for misunderstanding and reproach". In Holland also they encountered serious opposition. One of the ministers of the Classis (Presbytery) of Amsterdam, Kulenkamp, felt called to issue a Pastoral Letter, in which he sounded a warning against the views expressed by Zinzendorf. This Letter was in due course also circulated at the Cape, which, be it remembered, then belonged ecclesiastically to the Classis of Amsterdam. Schmidt was not slow to see how prejudicially Kulenkamp's Letter would affect his mission-work, and when on a visit to Cape Town in 1739, he declared his readiness to submit to an examination by the Reformed ministers there, and affirmed that he could vouch for the doctrines which he had instilled into his little flock.

The heart of the lonely worker was gladdened and encouraged by a visit, also in 1739, of the two pioneers of the

¹ Eng. Trans., Vol. III, p. 118.

CHAP. VII. Moravian Mission to Ceylon, viz. Nitschmann and Eller. They came armed with a letter of protest against Kulenkamp's attitude, which letter was signed by certain members of the Amsterdam Classis; and Schmidt gratefully records the fact that the perusal of this letter, and the personal influence of the two visiting missionaries, produced a distinct change of feeling in his favour. Nitschmann and Eller were unable to visit Baviaans Kloof, but they heard from impartial witnesses accounts of Schmidt's work, which filled them with joy and gratitude. The residents at the Cape assured them that "Schmidt has accomplished what others would not have effected in thirty years, namely, to teach a Hottentot to pray as he has done. They actually retire from time to time to pray in solitude."

During a subsequent visit to Cape Town, in 1742, Schmidt received his long-expected "Act of Ordination" from Zinzendorf. He at once proceeded to make use of the authority thus conferred upon him. In his journal he writes:—

On the 31st March [1742] in the course of our return journey [from Cape Town] I asked Willem, one of my Hottentots, whether he desired to be baptised, upon which he answered: "If it be the will of the Lord". I thereupon explained to him what baptism signified. Shortly after we reached a stream of water [Steenbras River, east of the Sir Lowry's Pass], where I kneeled down and prayed with Willem. I then asked him: "Believest thou that the Son of God died upon the cross; that thou art by nature deserving of all condemnation, etc.?" When he had joyfully replied in the affirmative, I asked again: "Desirest thou to be baptised?" On his answering: "If it be the will of the Lord," I caused him to enter the water, and baptised him with the name of *Joshua*, in the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. On the 2nd April I baptised Afrika in similar manner, in a rivulet not far from my hut, with the name of Christian; and the following week I baptised four others.¹

This action on Schmidt's part gave great offence to the ministers of the established Church at the Cape. The young missionary was summoned to Cape Town, and examined by Governor Swellengrebel and the Council, as well as by the local clergymen. The result of this examination was that Schmidt was forbidden to dispense the sacraments of baptism and holy communion, pending an appeal to the Classis of Amsterdam.

¹"Kaapsche Cyclopaedie," No. 48. *N.B.*—The total number baptised by Schmidt seems to have been *five*, not six.

By the direction of the Council the three Dutch Reformed ministers then drew up a letter to the Classis¹ in which they set forth their objections to Schmidt's exercising the rights of an ordained clergyman. These objections were mainly three : *First*, Schmidt was no member of the Dutch Reformed Church, but belonged to the sect of the Herrnhutters, against which serious charges had been levelled. *Second*, Schmidt had been empowered to dispense the rites of baptism and communion in very irregular manner, namely by written *Bull* or *Testimonium*, whereas ordination to be valid must be effected by the laying on of hands. *Third*, the manner in which Schmidt had baptised was not according to law and custom, which enjoined that adults should be baptised in the Church and in presence of the whole congregation. In conclusion the three ministers requested that Schmidt might be recalled, and that one or two *sick-visitors* or schoolmasters, members of the Dutch Reformed Church, should be appointed to continue the work among the Hottentots at Baviaans Kloof. This letter, which was dated 26 September, 1742, was signed by Frans le Sueur, Wilhelm van Gendt and Salomon van Echten.

Two of Schmidt's converts, Joshua and Christian, were also summoned to Cape Town to be examined as to the measure of their knowledge of the way of salvation. Their replies were quite satisfactory, and one of the examining clergymen encouraged them to "continue to practise what their missionary had taught them". Schmidt meanwhile had assumed a determined attitude on the question of baptism, and declined to have the rite administered to his converts by the local ministers. On 13 September, 1742, he writes :—

The devil is commencing to rage, because I have administered baptism. People supposed that I would take my Hottentots to Cape Town, to have them baptised there by the ministers. Now, however, that they see they were mistaken, they have turned against me. They wish to write to the Classis of Amsterdam about my right to baptise and administer the Lord's Supper. I shall wait for the answer. Should they deprive me of my liberty, I shall return to you. But I would rather remain, "as a deceiver and yet true". They desire to have the honour of my work ; but they shall not have it, nor does it belong to them, but to the Saviour alone.

The rest of the story is soon told. Schmidt found himself so greatly hampered by the restraint placed upon him, that he

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¹ *In extenso* in Spoelstra, I, p. 195 seqq.

CHAP. VII. requested permission to return to Europe, in the hope of moving the authorities in Holland to grant him full ordination powers. The desired permission to withdraw presently arrived from Herrnhut, and in October, 1743, Schmidt took a moving farewell of his little flock, which then consisted of forty-nine souls, five of them being baptised Christians. A faithful band of thirty-nine Europeans, soldiers at the Company's outpost, were also present at the farewell service, and the latter mingled their tears with those of the Hottentots at the loss of their beloved friend and pastor. Schmidt repaired to Cape Town, and intimated his intention of returning to Europe, requesting a free return passage. This request was readily granted, and Governor Swellengrebel supplied him in addition with a testimonial in which his work among the Hottentots was greatly lauded. Schmidt also bore with him to Holland recommendatory letters from Captains Rhenius and Allemann, as well as from other friends, and thus armed set sail from Table Bay in March, 1744, arriving at Texel in the following June. His sojourn in South Africa had lasted nearly seven years. Of his experiences as missionary he writes : " In spite of all difficulties my stay in Africa was a good and blessed time, during which I shed many thousands of tears of gratitude and joy, for the mercy which it pleased the Saviour to show to the poor heathen ".

In the meantime, about the time of Schmidt's departure, an answer was received by the Reformed pastors of the Cape to their letter of accusation against the Herrnhutter missionary. On 5 December, 1743, the Classis of Amsterdam had despatched the following decision :—

We duly received your letter of 26 Sept., 1742. We postponed our reply as we desired first to appear in the meeting of the Chamber of Seventeen. This we were not able to do, and therefore we transmit to you the opinion of the Classis on the case in hand. We desire (and will also endeavour to secure) that certain suitable persons holding the Reformed faith shall be appointed to instruct the unfortunate Hottentots and others beyond the mountain [" Over Berg "] in the Christian religion. The baptism of the Herrnhutters has been declared illegal by the Synods of South- and North-Holland. On this ground our Classis disapproves of the baptisms of Schmidt, the Herrnhutter, and approves of the action of the governor and yourselves. The Classis, however, is also of opinion that you should not insist upon Schmidt's recall by the Seventeen. On the contrary the Classis requests you to do all in your

power to assist the simple Europeans also, of whom you made mention, to obtain good instruction . . . and to seek to meet and confer with the above-mentioned [Schmidt], so as to ascertain and advise us of his doings and teachings. . . .¹

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All attempts to smooth away the difficulties, and to obtain leave for Schmidt to return to his converts in South Africa, proved failures. The prejudice against the Moravians was too strong, and the dread of the Council of Seventeen lest another Church than the Reformed should establish itself at the Cape was too lively to permit the experiment of sanctioning Schmidt's return. The latter had to console himself with the promise of Governor Swellengrebel to protect the Hottentots at Baviaans Kloof, and to allow them to continue their residence there. From time to time he also received communications from his friends at the Cape, assuring him that his labours among the Hottentots were still bearing rich fruit. And with these he must fain content himself, leaving to the Chief Shepherd the further care for the flock which he had gathered by his toil and his prayers.

After his marriage with Maria Warkowsky, Schmidt continued to labour in various parts of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. The last years of his life were spent at Nisky, where in 1785 he breathed his last, having attained the ripe age of 76 years. Schmidt was in many respects a remarkable man. His intellectual attainments were few, and his theological education very imperfect. Governor Swellengrebel, who was well-disposed towards him, spoke of him as "this simple farmer" ("*dese eenvoudige landman*"). Perhaps, if he had received a more thorough theological preparation for his work, he might have appreciated more readily the force of the objections to his being entrusted with the dispensation of the sacraments. He was, nevertheless, a man of simple and strong character, absolutely clear in his conviction of salvation through Christ, firm in faith, powerful in prayer, abundant in good works. Above all, there burned in his bosom the flame of a glowing love to his Saviour, out of which were born a deep affection for the brethren and an undying passion for souls.

¹ Spoelstra, II, p. 76.

- CHAP. He died as he had lived. His walk and conversation had been
VII. in heaven, and he anticipated his departure with great and
unfeigned joy. Less than twenty-four hours before his death
he declared, with deep feeling, how strong was his desire to be
with Christ. And so he entered into rest.¹

¹ See Appendix, *Note B.*

CHAPTER VIII.

HERALDS OF THE NEW MISSION ERA.

There's a fount about to stream,
There's a light about to gleam,
There's a warmth about to glow,
There's a flower about to blow,
There's a midnight darkness changing into gray—
Men of thought and men of action, clear the way.

FOR nearly half a century after Schmidt's departure from South Africa missionary enterprise was at a standstill. Some individuals there were in whose hearts the love of Christ aroused a burning compassion for the souls of the neglected slaves and Hottentots, but the bulk of the colonists were indifferent, and no organised attempt was made to carry the Gospel to the heathen. But a better day was about to dawn over the southern extremity of the Dark Continent. A new spirit was moving in the Christian world, a spirit which, though first it became vocal in William Carey, was by no means confined to him. The first representative in South Africa of this new spirit of missions was the Reverend Helperus Ritzema van Lier. Of this remarkable man a few words must be said.

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Van Lier was born in Holland in 1764, and was distinguished from his earliest youth for his extraordinary talents. Almost without assistance he taught himself to read. Instead of joining in the amusements of other children, he would arrange his books in the form of geometrical figures, of defensive works or of great buildings, for all of which his precocious mind had full and lucid explanations. His memory was marvellously tenacious, and he could repeat verbatim long speeches or sermons to which he had listened. During his earlier years he devoted himself to history and to the mastery of French, Latin and Greek. His parents then resolved that he should become a clergyman, and in deference to their wishes, though much

CHAP. VIII. against his own, young Van Lier turned his attention to the study of theology and the Oriental languages. Before the age of 18 he had written and defended a dissertation, which gained for him the degrees of Master of the Free Sciences and Doctor of Philosophy.

His spiritual condition at this time he describes in darkest colours. His attendance at Divine worship had ceased; the Bible, in which his pious mother had instructed him, lay neglected on the shelf; his knees were seldom bent in prayer. Outwardly moral and studious, he yet confesses that his heart was full of pride, self-righteousness and impure imaginings. The occasion of his conversion was the death of an estimable young lady to whom he was ardently attached, and upon whom he looked as his affianced bride. His grief at her decease was so poignant that he flung himself upon his bed desiring earnestly to be delivered by a sudden death from an existence which had become intolerable. At this very stage it pleased God to reveal Himself to the youth whose heart was thus overwhelmed. The unaccustomed thought of God's glory and majesty burst full upon him. The eyes of his mind were opened, and the sense of God's endless divinity and omnipresence completely possessed his soul. He saw, as clearly as though it were written before his eyes in letters of fire, that an unconditional obedience to God's commands must henceforth be the law of his life.

In the providence of God this eminent man was invited to proceed to the Cape, and after some consideration accepted the invitation. On his arrival in Table Bay, whither his fame had preceded him, he was heartily welcomed by Christian friends, and for a considerable time enjoyed the hospitality of their homes. By the departure to Stellenbosch of the Rev. M. Borchards, a vacancy was created in the congregation at Cape Town, and to this Van Lier was immediately appointed. His induction to the pastorate at the Cape occurred on 8 October, 1786, when he was but 22 years of age. By his earnest evangelical sermons, by his faithful performance of all pastoral and public duties, and by his sincere and simple Christian character, Van Lier exercised a great and most beneficent influence over the members of his congregation. Nor did he cease his beloved studies, and the pen which he wielded so easily was in con-

stant motion. For a work on "The Importance of Religion for the Common Man" the Hague Society for the Defence of Christianity awarded him a gold medal. A dissertation of his on the various kinds of air was crowned by the Academy of Sienna in Tuscany with another gold medal, and with its greatly prized membership.

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VIII.

Though Van Lier's chief concern was the pastorate of his congregation of Europeans, his heart was deeply grieved at the neglected spiritual condition of the slaves and Hottentots. In a sermon delivered on 17 May, 1789, he insisted upon the necessity of preaching the Gospel to every creature. "Of set purpose does Jesus use the expression *to all creatures*—in order to teach us that the Gospel must be brought to every one who can bear the name of man—to the most ungodly heathen and the most barbaric nations, to the simplest and the most ignorant. No exception may be made. Jesus has anticipated all excuses. His Gospel must be proclaimed to every human being, however savage, ignorant, degraded or sinful he be. No one can be too ignorant or too sinful for the Gospel to be offered to him: no one is so virtuous as not to need the Gospel. No man, whatever profession of virtue or innocence he may make, can do without the Gospel: to no man, however guilty and depraved he be, may the Gospel be refused."¹

At about this time the Netherlands East India Company, at the urgent request of the Dutch Reformed Synods in Holland, projected the establishment of a Society or Seminary for the Propagation of the Gospel in its Indian and African possessions. This was a scheme that greatly appealed to Van Lier; and to his uncle, P. Hofstede, a Professor of Theology at Rotterdam, he writes as follows:—

I feel myself impelled to write to you again concerning the proposed Society and Seminary for the Propagation of the Christian Religion among Heathen and Mohammedans. I am in great hopes that this Society will eventually be established. The great importance of the glory of God, of the extension of the Kingdom of Jesus, and of the salvation of so many thousands, who now are still afar off and aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, but who may be brought nigh by the blood and the Spirit of our Saviour, must impart to you new courage and strength, and must make endurable the many cares and disappointments which are inseparable from an enterprise such as this.

¹ "Verzameling van Leerredenen" (Utrecht, 1802), p. 11.

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VIII. So soon as you have decided to inaugurate this new Society, I should rejoice to be your correspondent in these parts, and shall attempt to raise a considerable sum and forward it to the Society.¹

Van Lier did not live to see the realisation of the scheme that lay so near to his heart, for within three years of penning this letter he entered into rest, at the early age of 28 years. The last scenes were pathetic in the extreme. His sorrowing wife and four little children hung around his bed. Numbers of sympathetic friends visited the sick-chamber. From all of them the dying man took an affectionate farewell, commanding them to God in fervent prayers. The very slaves were not forgotten, but were summoned to his bedside to receive their master's parting charge. In a powerful and touching prayer he invoked the Divine blessing upon the land of his adoption, upon the Church in which he was born and which he held so dear, and upon the heathen who had not as yet been gathered to the one fold. During the spasms of pain he earnestly besought God for relief, and when relief came he was filled with gratitude, and his lips overflowed with expressions of joy and holy rapture. In the early morning of 21 March, 1793, he passed to his eternal reward.

No man was so widely mourned as Van Lier, or mourned with greater reason. Had he been spared, it is impossible to predict what he may have become for the Church to which he belonged, and for the Kingdom for whose extension he prayed and laboured. As it was, under Van Lier's fostering influence a fervent missionary spirit was kindled in South Africa. In 1788, two years after his arrival in the Colony, a number of Christians banded themselves together to devote certain days of the week to spiritual effort on behalf of slaves and Hottentots. To this first circle of mission friends belonged such men as Van Zulch of Drakenstein,² Jacobus Vos, and C. P. Slotsboo, who subsequently became one of the founders of the South African Missionary Society. And to these must be added the honoured name of Mrs. Mathilde Smith, who under Van Lier's ministry underwent what she called her "effectual conversion," and was subsequently a devoted friend of missionaries and of mission work. We shall have occasion

¹ "Nederduitsch Zuid Afrikaansch Tijdschrift" for 1826, p. 413.

² See Appendix, *Note C.*

to meet this remarkable woman again in the further developments of missionary enterprise in South Africa.

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Among those who deserve honourable mention as of friendly disposition towards slaves and Hottentots are the Lutherans Martin Melk and Jan Morell. The former was a wealthy and generous burgher, to whose liberality not only his own communion, but also the Reformed congregation at Stellenbosch, where he resided, owed a great debt of gratitude. Melk was deeply interested in the moral and spiritual welfare of his slaves, and, in at least three cases, he permitted them to be baptised and admitted to membership in the Christian Church. The rule that a baptised slave should be accorded his liberty had by this time fallen wholly into abeyance, and the congregation at Stellenbosch is found in 1792 asking advice from the Government as to whether it is permissible to baptise slaves, on the distinct understanding that their emancipation need not necessarily follow. The question was referred by the Government to the Kerkeraad of Cape Town, who returned an affirmative answer.¹ The correspondence is interesting as proving that an increasing number of burghers were interesting themselves in their slaves, and encouraging, or at least not obstructing, their reception into the Church of Christ.

The names of J. Groenewald and J. N. Desch are a further proof that, even before the close of the eighteenth century, the tide of mission interest was commencing to flow among the colonists. Three Moravian missionaries—of whom a fuller account will be given in the next chapter—had arrived at the Cape to resume the interrupted work of George Schmidt. They proceeded to the site of Schmidt's old station, and there commenced their labours. The Reformed community at Stellenbosch had, however, taken alarm. The long feud with the Lutherans had been but recently ended, and the embers were still glowing. The Kerkeraad therefore petitioned the Government "that the further extension of this sect (Moravians) might be opposed, and the aforementioned missionaries directed to withdraw to a district in which no Christian congregation was yet established".² To this decision of the Kerkeraad two of its members took exception. They were Elder Groenewald

¹ Spooelstra, II, p. 339 *seqq.*

² Op. cit., II, p. 410.

CHAP. and Deacon Desch ; who subsequently embodied their views in
VIII. the following protest :—

The conscientious qualms which have induced the undersigned not to acquiesce in the decision of the Kerkeraad concerning the Herrnhut missionaries, are *inter alia* these :—

1. Because the missionaries in question have been placed where they now are by the Governor and Council, presumably under approbation of the Commissioners—in what is possibly the best sphere, sufficiently distant from the Church of Stellenbosch, and indeed originally indicated and granted to the missionaries of that body.
2. Because, by general testimony, the said missionaries have conducted themselves in a quiet, humanitarian and peaceable fashion ; and because thus far there are no evidences or proofs that they have made the slightest attempt to proselytise, but only that they have used their utmost endeavours to extend Christianity among the Hottentots, in which endeavours they have made praiseworthy progress.
3. Because, if the said missionaries are compelled to depart thence, they will be under the necessity of going to the Kafirs, since, as far as that territory, Christians are everywhere found, belonging to some country congregation or other ; while it does not appear to be the purpose [of the Government] to send them beyond the possessions of the Company.¹

At a somewhat later stage we find the same Desch conducting at his own cost a school for slave-children at Stellenbosch, the Kerkeraad of Stellenbosch having previously adopted the resolution that “slave-children also shall be instructed in reading and in the elements of the Christian religion”.² In the minutes of the Stellenbosch Kerkeraad the name of Mewes Bakker is of frequent occurrence. This Bakker was formerly boatswain of a man-of-war which had been shipwrecked, with the loss of all but forty of its crew of 300. Bakker was one of the survivors, and in gratitude for his deliverance he devoted his life to mission work among the natives of the Cape. For a time he laboured independently, but, after a visit to Europe, he was brought into official connection with the Kerkeraad of Stellenbosch, and continued his endeavours for the conversion of the heathen with the sanction and financial support of that body.

¹ Spoelstra, II, p. 411.

² Ibid., p. 415.

The man who above all deserves the honour of being considered the pioneer of the missionary spirit in South Africa is Michiel Christiaan Vos, whose romantic "Autobiography"¹ is one of the classics of Cape mission history. Vos was born at Cape Town on the last day of the year 1759, and was the youngest of a family of five sons. Immediately after his conversion, which occurred, apparently, when he was 17 or 18 years of age, he conceived the earnest purpose of becoming a minister of the Gospel in his own land. Especially was he exercised about the condition of the poor slaves—"not so much," he tells us, "about their actual slavery (for many of them are better off, as far as bodily wants are concerned, than thousands of free Christians in Europe ; they are not maltreated, are troubled by no anxiety on the score of food and clothing, are carefully tended during illness, and even when married need have no concern either for themselves or for their children), but my heart was grieved at the neglect of their immortal souls". "The more I thought on the condition of the slaves, the stronger grew my desire to become a minister in this land."²

There being no public schools, much less a University, at the Cape at this time, it was necessary for a youth who desired to qualify for any profession to proceed to some European University. Here, however, young Vos was faced by an obstacle which proved well-nigh insurmountable. He was a minor, and the Orphan Masters, in whom was vested the control of the funds which he possessed, refused him leave to go abroad. In vain did Vos, supported by his mother, urge the reasonableness of his request : the authorities were obdurate ; and before he had attained the age of 25 he could not obtain the control of his own property. He was now but 19, and to wait for another six years before beginning to qualify for his life-work went sorely against the grain. There was but one other way by which he could escape from the tyranny of the Master of the Orphan Chamber, and that was *marriage*. This expedient Vos resolved to adopt. He thereupon contracted an alliance with a young lady some two years his senior, stipulating that he should be allowed to leave her immediately, in

¹ M. C. Vos: "Merkwaardig Verhaal," Amsterdam, 1824.

² "Merkwaardig Verhaal," pp. 14, 15.

CHAP. order to devote the following six years of his life to fulfilling
VIII. his course of studies in Holland ; and on this understanding
departed for Utrecht in 1780.

After his legitimation, however, Vos could secure no appointment to a congregation in his fatherland. He was compelled to write to his wife to join him in Holland, where for the following nine years he ministered successively to three congregations. It was 1794 before he again set foot on the shore of Table Bay, and received from the Governor (Sluysken) the appointment to Roodezand (now Tulbagh) in the land of Waveren. In the course of his interviews with the Governor, he seized the opportunity of recommending to his Excellency's favour and protection the Moravian missionaries, who in 1793 had re-started Schmidt's work at Baviaans Kloof. Vos's first sermon in his new sphere of labour was on the text : " Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature ". He pointed out to his hearers that as his duty plainly was to proclaim the good news to every creature, he would preach to slaves and Hottentots also. He announced his intention of instituting classes for their instruction every Sunday and Wednesday evening, and urged it upon masters and mistresses to see to it that their dependents attended these classes.

Vos had, naturally, to contend with many difficulties. He had stirred deeply rooted prejudices, and awakened alarm and opposition. But his sincerity, his earnestness and his tact won the day. Presently the conscience of the slave-owners was aroused, and they confessed to their pastor that they were only just beginning to feel the responsibility which devolved upon them for their slaves' moral and spiritual welfare. At their request Vos prepared a simple catechism for the instruction of slaves and Hottentots, of which many copies, made by hand, were soon in circulation among the farmers. His efforts on behalf of the heathen were not limited to his own congregation. Even beyond the confines of the Waveren district he visited outlying farms, urging upon the colonists the duty of instructing their slaves and servants. So extensive was the parish of which he had charge, that the homes of some of his parishioners were situated ten days' journey from Roodezand, in consequence of which they could attend Divine service but seldom. Vos therefore divided his parish into six districts,

visiting each with as great frequency as he could, though he states that it took him two years to complete the round of visits.

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As a result of the fostering care and untiring energy of Van Lier, Vos and others, there was a considerable amount of missionary activity among the colonists in the latter years of the eighteenth century. The arrival of the Moravian missionaries in 1792, and of the first band of men belonging to the London Missionary Society in 1799, drew the attention of Christian men and women, in a more marked manner than before, to the need of the slaves and heathen in their midst; but it is important to remember that the missionary interest which existed had been awakened and stimulated, not from without, but from within, by men who, as faithful and beloved pastors, had gained their people's confidence, and were able to touch their hearts and consciences. It is a mistake to represent the colonists as inimical to mission work. Indifference, no doubt, in many cases there was, but when we remember the spiritual neglect to which the remoter districts were subject, such indifference is not wholly unaccountable. When earnest pastors like Vos and Van Lier appealed to the consciences of their congregations, and pleaded the claims of slaves and heathen, there was an immediate and encouraging response, and the records show that at the close of the eighteenth century mission work was carried on, in a small way, in nearly every ward of the western districts.¹ In the parish of Roodezand alone, as Dr. van der Kemp writes to Dr. Haweis, "a thousand heathen were receiving instruction in the Christian religion, and among them there were many who appeared to have experienced in their lives the power of the truth". In every way it was apparent that a better day was dawning in South Africa for the slaves within, and the natives without, the borders of the Colony.

¹ See Appendix, *Note D.*

CHAPTER IX.

RE-COMMENCEMENT OF THE MORAVIAN MISSION.

There was in the Brethren first of all that detachment from the world and its hopes, that power of endurance, that simple trust in God, which affliction and persecution are meant to work. These men were literally strangers and pilgrims on earth. They were familiar with the thought and spirit of sacrifice. They had learnt to endure hardship and to look up to God in every trouble.—ANDREW MURRAY.

Es wurden zehn dahingesät,
Als waren sie verloren—
Auf ihren Beeten aber steht:
Das ist die Saat der Mohren.

COUNT ZINZENDORF.

(On hearing of the death of ten Moravian missionaries).

CHAP. IT is now time for us to retrace our steps for some distance
IX. and return to the Baviaans Kloof Mission. The authorities at Herrnhut had never lost sight of Schmidt's Hottentots, and were only awaiting a favourable opportunity for re-starting the interrupted work. Hitherto all attempts to obtain the Chamber of Seventeen's permission for continuing Schmidt's labours had proved futile. In 1748, for example, Johann Martin Schwäbler, who for five years had been in the Company's employment at the Cape, offered his services to Zinzendorf for work at Baviaans Kloof. At his own expense he proceeded to South Africa, ostensibly to seek another appointment as an official of the Company, in reality to make his way to the Hottentot community where Schmidt had laboured. In this he seems to have succeeded, but his stay among the Hottentots left no traces, and we must probably accept the statement of one of the colonists that he married and was subsequently carried off by an epidemic.¹

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century it became plain to the Herrnhut Brethren that the time was ripe for an-

¹ The statement was made by Christiaan Wynstrauch, and would seem to refer to the small-pox epidemic of 1755.

other attempt to secure the open door in South Africa. For CHAP.
the creation of these more favourable circumstances several IX.
causes were responsible. First of all, the tenets of the Brethren
were better understood in Holland, their missionary undertakings,
especially that in the Dutch colony of Suriname, were
better appreciated, and since the establishment of the Moravian
Church in the town of Zeist, eminent Hollanders had come into
contact with some of the Brethren, and had formed a high
estimate of their character and piety. Furthermore, in 1780,
the Lutherans in Cape Town, after a contest which had lasted
more than half a century, at length succeeded in obtaining per-
mission to erect a church and call a minister of their own, and
experienced the joy of welcoming the Rev. Andreas Lutger
Kolver as their first pastor. The principle of *Cuius regio, illius*
religio had thus received its deathblow, and the way was open
for other denominations than the Dutch Reformed Church to
enter South Africa. And finally, the missionary spirit was
gradually making itself felt among the more pious colonists, and
the advent of Van Lier fanned it to a bright flame. A better
day had dawned for the mission cause in the Dark Continent,
and it was felt that if an endeavour were now made to re-start
Schmidt's work, there was every hope that it would succeed.

The immediate instrument through which the Directors' consent was obtained was a Bishop of the Brethren, Johann Friedrich Reichel. On a return journey from Tranquebar, whither he had gone to visit the missions of his Church, he called at the Cape in 1787, and was heartily welcomed by the circle of Christians of which Van Lier was the moving spirit. Reichel was able to report to his Synod that all the circumstances were in the highest degree propitious for the renewal of Schmidt's early efforts. To two influential Brethren, Bishop Rothe and Baron von Rantzau, was entrusted the duty of approaching the Directors and seeking to obtain their goodwill towards the Moravian cause among the Hottentots. Their negotiations were successful. Leave was granted to the Brethren to depute missionaries to South Africa, who should have liberty to labour among the Hottentots and gather them into the fold of Christ by preaching and the administration of the sacraments. At the same time the Directors stipulated, *inter alia*, that the Brethren should refrain from establishing

CHAP. IX. themselves in a sphere in which any other Christian congregation already existed. This stipulation occasioned some searchings of heart, as the two deputies feared that the antagonism to missions at the Cape might compel them to remove to an indefinite distance inland, and eventually to settle, not among the Hottentots, but among the Kafirs. The president of the Directors (Temmink) strove to show that their fears were groundless, and the deputies withdrew in the conviction that the Chamber of Seventeen were ready to do all in their power to further the interests of the work now to be undertaken.

The men chosen to inaugurate the new departure were three : Hendrik Marsveld of Gouda, a Hollander, Daniel Schwinn and Johann Christian Kühnel. They were unmarried, and their ages were 47, 42 and 30 respectively. Each of them had been trained to a trade. After ordination as deacons of the Unitas Fratrum, they proceeded to Holland, and on 25 June, 1792, embarked on the vessel "*'t Duyfje*" ("The Dove"), arriving in Table Bay in the following November. On board the vessel they were treated with unvarying kindness, and on their arrival at Cape Town Christian friends, among whom the Revs. Van Lier and Serrurier must be mentioned, welcomed them with great joy.

In the neighbourhood of Baviaans Kloof dwelt a certain farmer named Marthinus Theunissen. He was a Christian and a man of some influence, occupying the position of field-cornet of his ward. To this official's care the newly arrived missionaries were committed, and a true and faithful friend he proved himself. Leaving Cape Town on 20 December, they arrived at Baviaans Kloof four days later. Of Schmidt's sojourn but few traces remained, but the missionaries were overjoyed to find a pear-tree which had been planted by Schmidt's own hands still standing and flourishing. Still greater was their emotion to find, at a kraal situated thirty minutes farther,¹ one of Schmidt's converts, now an old woman of at least 80 years of age. This was old Lena (or Magdalena), who had been baptised by Schmidt fifty years before. On being asked whether she remembered anything she had been taught, she shook her head and replied that she had forgotten everything,

¹ Distances in South Africa are generally reckoned in hours and half-hours, six miles per hour being the usual rate of travelling on horseback or by cart.

it was so long ago since she had received instruction. When informed that the men she saw before her had come to resume the long-interrupted labours of Schmidt, she folded her hands and cried: "Then God be thanked!" Old Lena then told the interested Brethren that she still retained a book which Schmidt had presented to her. The treasure was quickly produced. It was carefully kept in a leathern bag which in turn was wrapped in two sheepskins, and when opened proved to be a Dutch New Testament. Lena herself could no longer read, owing to failing eyesight, but a woman who had somehow got to learn her letters opened the sacred volume and read the second chapter of Matthew's gospel with considerable fluency. This famous New Testament is now preserved by the missionaries at Genadendal in a box made from the wood of Schmidt's pear-tree.

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The three Brethren allowed no grass to grow under their feet. Within a few months' time a dwelling-house had been erected, a garden commenced, and a school for the Hottentots opened with sixty-one pupils. There seems to have been considerable eagerness to receive instruction, and from far and near Hottentot families came flocking to Baviaans Kloof. At the end of two years the first signs of a spiritual awakening gladdened the hearts of the faithful three. A veritable hunger for the Word of God was apparent. The emotional Hottentots were moved to tears by the preaching of the Gospel, and though perhaps the impression made was in some cases fleeting, yet in many others the peaceable fruits of righteousness were presently seen. Those colonists who from time to time were witnesses of the work of God's Spirit in the ignorant heathen, were moved to confess that they could hardly believe that such results were possible as they had personally witnessed.

It must not be supposed that the early years of the mission were a time of peaceful progress and unmixed prosperity. On the contrary, it must be acknowledged that Marsveld and his companions had fallen on evil times. When they left the shores of Europe, that continent was being convulsed by the great revolution in France. On their journey to South Africa and during their first years at Baviaans Kloof, they were constantly pursued by wars and rumours of wars. The Cape at

CHAP. this time was menaced by attack from without and rebellion from within. Holland was in alliance with France, and between the latter and England a prolonged struggle was in progress. The Cape, therefore, as a dependency of Holland, was daily expecting to see the sails of an English fleet, bent upon wresting the Colony from the possession of the Netherlands East India Company, and annexing it to the Crown of the Georges. The authorities of the Cape were at their wits' end. The finances of the once wealthy and powerful Company were hopelessly involved, the troops stationed at Cape Town were in a state of dissatisfaction hardly distinguishable from mutiny, and, to crown all, the colonists, irritated by the conduct of officials whose removal they could not secure, and to whose misgovernment they would not submit, were in open rebellion.¹

Under these circumstances the military officers at Cape Town hit upon the plan of enrolling a corps of Hottentots and arming them for the defence of the Colony. Such a company was actually raised and placed under the command of the burgher Jan Cloete as commandant. To the missionaries at Baviaans Kloof this summons to all Hottentots to arm for the defence of the country was a serious grievance against the Government. Their dissatisfaction was increased when the authorities refused to sanction the erection of a church. What the grounds of this refusal were, we cannot now ascertain, but they probably stood in connection with the disturbed state of the country. The missionaries interpreted the refusal as the sign of an antagonistic spirit on Governor Sluysken's part to their mission work; but this was not the case, for Sluysken, on surrendering the settlement to the English in September, 1795, wrote a letter in which he specially commended the work at Baviaans Kloof to the notice and fostering care of the new Government.²

¹ It was a party of these rebels who in July, 1795, threatened Baviaans Kloof, and compelled the missionaries to retreat to Cape Town. They were under the command of the Italian adventurer Louis Pisani, on whose head the Government set a price of £200. See Theal's "History before 1795," Vol. III, p. 260.

² Schneider, p. 142. *N.B.*—As an example of the ludicrous errors into which writers unacquainted with South Africa may fall, reference may be made to Schneider's account of the interview between Governor Sluysken and Schwinn. The Governor refused the erection, apparently, of "even a *Hartebeesthuis*,"—

The three Brethren also complained of the suspicion and dislike with which their efforts to raise the Hottentots were viewed by those who ought to have been the first to encourage them,—the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church. There is a long story told by Schneider, the historian of the Baviaans Kloof mission, of a bell, the gift of Cape Town friends, which the missionaries were commanded not to ring because its sound disturbed the minister of Stellenbosch, Rev. Meent Borchards. That an interdict was pronounced against the bell is possible, but certainly not for the absurd reason mentioned. Stellenbosch lies at a distance of fifty miles, as the crow flies, from Baviaans Kloof, and not even a cannon-shot could be heard across the lofty mountain-ranges that interpose between the two places. The truth is that Borchards directed a petition to the Government, in which he prayed that the Moravians, who had settled within what he held to be part of his parish, might be ordered to go farther inland. As was recounted in the previous chapter, this petition, though sustained by the majority of the Kerkeraad, was repudiated by two of its members, Groenewald and Desch,¹ and the Government replied that the request could not be acceded to. It must not be assumed that, because Borchards was opposed to the establishment of the Moravians within the confines of his parish, he was antagonistic to mission work. In subsequent years he proved by his conduct how sincerely he sympathised with and supported all efforts to bring the Gospel to neglected slaves and ignorant Hottentots. But at this stage he was still dominated by the idea of one common religion for South Africa, namely, the Dutch Reformed faith; and he naturally, though unwisely, resented the liberty allowed to the Lutherans to erect their own place of worship, and the leave granted to the Moravians to commence a mission and gather a community of their own. From this attitude sprang also the demand to have the obnoxious bell, which summoned worshippers to attend an alien church, silenced; for not only the Moravians,

which is, a *wattle-and-daub* structure. This Schneider turns into "Nicht ein Zwartheesthuus (Schweinestall)," a word unknown in South Africa, and certainly not equivalent to *Schweinestall* or pig-sty. This error of Schneider's is repeated by Hamilton: "When Schwinn in a personal interview with the Governor sought permission for the erection of a church, the rude reply was: 'Not so much as a pig-sty shall be built'" (p. 280).

¹ See p. 66.

CHAP. but also the Cape Town Lutherans, were for many years prohibited from erecting a steeple or sounding a bell.¹

IX. Much more serious are the charges levelled against the colonists of being bitterly and consistently hostile to the mission at Baviaans Kloof. Schneider, who drew his information from the diaries kept by the Brethren,² sounds this note again and again. No words are too strong to describe the inveterate hatred with which the farmers pursue the unfortunate missionaries. They complain that their best friends turn against them. Even Theunissen, who had accorded them such hearty and unfailing support at the commencement, becomes an instrument in the hands of the Government for their oppression. As for the ordinary farmers, "their insinuating friendliness was a mask to conceal falsehood, suspicion and bitterness".³ "With negligible exceptions the whole white community anathematised the missionaries and all their labours, and aimed with increasing determination at their destruction."⁴ Lady Anne Barnard, who visited the station in 1798, says that she was informed by the missionaries that "over and over again the farmers have made plots to murder us. The last plot, which was to shoot us with poisoned arrows, we discovered and were able to prevent."⁵

At the back of all this smoke there must necessarily have been some fire, however small. There can be little doubt that in many cases—perhaps in most—the work of the Moravians aroused suspicion and opposition on the part of the colonists. To this spirit of antagonism witness is borne by M. C. Vos. He relates that on his arrival at the Cape he called on the Governor, and invoked his aid and patronage on behalf of the Brethren. To this the Governor replied: "If I had acted according to the desire of those who are persecuting them, I would long ago have sent those men out of the country, though they harm no one, but set others a good example. I rejoice at your words of recommendation, and promise you to protect

¹ Barrow's "Travels," Vol. II, p. 146.

² Schneider mentions the fact that the diary was written in 1793 and 1794 by Kühnel, who during those two years filled nearly 300 pages quarto, "closely written and without margin" (Schneider, p. 60).

³ Schneider, p. 106.

⁴ Ibid., p. 106.

⁵ "South Africa a Century Ago" (Lady Anne Barnard's letters), p. 170. See Appendix, Note E.

and encourage them so far as I am able."¹ Hostility to the mission among the Hottentots there undoubtedly was, but it was by no means so general as the historian above mentioned would have us believe. It is a manifest exaggeration to say that "the whole white community, with insignificant exceptions, anathematised the mission". Schneider's pages, and by implication the diaries of the missionaries themselves, contain abundant proof to the contrary. Theunissen and his wife were their constant friends, in spite of temporary estrangement. Another "friendly Boer woman" rendered them help in laying out their garden. Marthinus Smit was deeply impressed by the work of grace at Baviaans Kloof. Another neighbour called Plaisir (probably Plessis or Du Plessis) was a friend of the mission. In Cape Town they had a host of well-wishers, who provided them with the bell which caused such searchings of heart. Farmer Le Sueur sends them a welcome present of tobacco, dried fruit, and wine. Dominé (or Teacher) Van Zulch² visits the Hottentot levies at their camp, two hours distant, and ministers to their spiritual wants. Cloete travels from Cape Town to Baviaans Kloof, and by his kind mediation procures some relief for the Brethren from obnoxious Government regulations. Rev. M. C. Vos and "Mother" Smith journey from Roodezand (now Tulbagh) to the mission to assure the missionaries of their interest in, and prayers for, the great work in which they are engaged. In the face of all this evidence it is unjust to charge the whole body of colonists with indifference or active hostility towards the Moravian mission.

Two things must have contributed towards creating a strained relationship between burghers and missionaries—the naturally suspicious attitude of the former, and the somewhat narrow outlook of the latter. The farmers viewed a work which had for its object the amelioration of the temporal and spiritual condition of the Hottentots with a distrust that is not wholly inexplicable. These farmers were themselves in a state of mental and spiritual neglect, and could not be expected to realise their responsibilities towards the heathen at a time when, even in enlightened England, proposals to preach

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¹ M. C. Vos: "Merkwaardig Verhaal," p. 109.

² Schneider calls him *Van Silk* (p. 101).

CHAP. IX. the Gospel to every creature were received with ridicule and scorn. Many of these colonists could neither read nor write, nor could they secure teachers for their children. Is it to be wondered at that they resented the establishment of a school at which the children of Hottentots received an education which was denied to their own children?

We have also seen that, immediately after the commencement of work at Baviaans Kloof, there was a steady drift of Hottentots towards the station. They hoped, no doubt, to be free on mission ground from the irksome necessity of having to work for a living, as was the case so long as they were settled on a colonist's farm. Baviaans Kloof bade fair to become the rendezvous of the idle and shiftless, and only the discipline which the Brethren exercised, and the rule of labour which they enforced, prevented such a calamity. In point of fact the mission station was the asylum for many Hottentots who were guilty of cattle theft and even of murder, though the missionaries were firm to hand over to justice all such as had transgressed the laws of the land.¹ The farmers, we may well conceive, who were but human, and therefore selfish and mercenary in their views, contemplated with no little concern the departure of the Hottentots and the consequent shortage of labour. Add to this the growing conviction that Baviaans Kloof was fast becoming a refuge for the idle, the discontented and the thieving, and we have material enough for the erection of a mighty barrier of suspicion and hatred between colonist and missionary.

It must be confessed, too, that the missionaries seem to have done very little to remove or minimise the distrust with which they were regarded. They moved in a little world, and their outlook on life was consequently narrow. "Only three things," says their historian, "exist for these men—a risen Saviour, their Hottentots, and their Church in the homeland. . . . Whatever else may occur is subordinated to these three points of view."² Marsveld recounts, for instance, how he visited Pastor Vos at Roodezand, from which visit, however, he returned disappointed. His host was friendly, indeed, but to Marveld's somewhat sensitive disposition too condescend-

¹ Examples are given by Schneider, p. 108,

² Ibid., p. 61.

ing, too official, too much of the "Predikant". Vos's request—then as now customary throughout South Africa—that his guest should conduct family worship, was interpreted by the latter as an attempt to test the measure of his knowledge and the sincerity of his faith. From his sojourn at Roodezand Marsveld journeyed homeward with the impression that "the number of true, warm-hearted friends of themselves and their mission was small". The impression was, however, a wrong one. Vos was one of the first and one of the best mission-friends South Africa has ever had. He pleaded the cause of the Brethren before the Governor, as we have already seen. When lauded by his friends for his efforts to preach the Gospel to the poor heathen, he waived the honour in favour of the "excellent Moravian Brethren, who commenced a work among the heathen several years before my labours on behalf of the slaves had begun".¹ In company with "Mother" Smith he visited Baviaans Kloof in 1797 and again in 1800, and his visits served to prove to the Brethren that their early estimate of his feelings towards them was far out, for they now place on record that "Baviaans Kloof has no more faithful advocate and friend in the whole country than he is".² If Vos was for so long a time regarded with doubt and suspicion, it is certain that the missionaries must have looked upon the rest of the colonists with something very like fear, and in such an atmosphere of mutual distrust all feelings of neighbourliness and tolerance must soon have been extinguished. And such a condition of affairs may explain, though it cannot wholly condone, the harsh language towards the farmers which the journal of the missionaries contains.

It is pleasant to avert the gaze from the somewhat gloomy picture just painted, and to view the progress of the work at Baviaans Kloof. The three missionaries seem to have been the right men for the task that lay before them. Without neglecting to preach and to teach, they taught the Hottentots the necessity of toiling with the hands. As practical artisans, they were able to instruct the Hottentots in the trades they had themselves mastered. The station rapidly assumed the dimensions of a village. A spacious church was erected, pre-

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¹ "Merkwaardig Verhaal," p. 103.

² Schneider, p. 177.

CHAP. sently to make way for a still larger edifice. A mill was put up, IX. to which the Hottentots brought large quantities of grist. Kühnel commenced a cutlery in which numbers of pruning-knives were manufactured, which found a ready sale among the wine-farmers. Outwardly, affairs were beginning to prosper, and the Hottentots had been won from a nomad pastoral life to a more settled agricultural existence.

In 1798 the station was visited by Lady Anne Barnard, whose husband was secretary to Governor Macartney, and who, in the absence of Lady Macartney, fulfilled the social duties appertaining to the first lady of the Colony. From her description of Baviaans Kloof the following lines are taken:—

The fathers, of whom there were three, came out to meet us in their working jackets . . . welcomed us simply and frankly, and led us into their house which was built with their own hands five years ago. They told us that they were sent by the Moravian Church in Germany; and that their object was to convert the Hottentots, and render them industrious, religious and happy. . . . They asked us to step in to see the church: we found it about forty feet long and twenty broad: the pulpit was a platform raised only a few steps above the ground, and matted with some rushes, on which were three chairs and a small table on which was a Bible. I regretted very much that it was not Sunday—then I should have found the whole community, about 300 Hottentots, assembled to Divine worship. The fathers said I should still see them, as at sunset every day, when business was over, there were prayers. Presently the church bell was a-ringing, and we begged leave to make part of the congregation. I doubt much whether I should have entered St. Peter's at Rome, with the triple crown, with a more devout impression of the Deity and His presence than I felt in this little church of a few feet square, where the simple disciples of Christianity, dressed in the skins of animals, knew no purple or fine linen, no pride or hypocrisy. I felt as if I were creeping back 1700 years, and heard from the rude and inspired lips of Evangelists the simple sacred words of wisdom and purity. The service began with a Presbyterian form of psalm: about 150 Hottentots joined in the twenty-third psalm in a tone so sweet and loud, so chaste and true, that it was impossible to hear it without being surprised. The fathers, who were the sole music-masters, sang in their deep-toned bass along with them, and the harmony was excellent. This over, the miller took a portion of the Scripture and expounded it as he went along. The father's discourse was short, and his voice was even and natural, and when he used the words, as he often did, *Mijne lieve vrienden* ("my beloved friends") I felt that he thought they were all his children.¹

¹ "South Africa a Century Ago," pp. 168, 169.

CHAPTER X.

THE MORAVIAN MISSION: GROWTH AND EXTENSION.

GENADENDAL.

In distant Europe oft I've longed to see
This quiet Vale of Grace; to list the sound
Of lulling brooks and moaning turtles round
The apostle Schmidt's old consecrated tree;
To hear the hymns of solemn melody
Rising from the sequestered burial ground;
To see the heathen taught, the lost sheep found,
The blind restored, the long-oppressed set free.
All this I've witnessed now—and pleasantly
Its memory shall in my heart remain.

THOMAS PRINGLE.

By the year 1798 the Brethren at Baviaans Kloof had sur-
mounted the chief difficulties with which at the outset they
had to contend. The political crisis was past, and the reins of
government were in the firm grasp of the new English adminis-
tration. The roving bands of burghers who had disturbed the
peace of the country, and caused the Brethren much anxiety,
had been persuaded or compelled to return to their respective
homes. Hottentots to the number of more than 800 had
settled at Baviaans Kloof, and of these some 200 had been
gathered into the Church of Christ. The Moravian Directors
at Herrnhut decided that the time was ripe for re-organising
the work at the Cape.

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With this end in view they appointed as superintendent of
the mission John Philip Kohrhammer, who arrived at Baviaans
Kloof, accompanied by his wife, in May, 1798: There were
great rejoicings among the Hottentots at the advent of a lady
missionary, whom they could now look upon as their mother.
At the same time Schwinn was recalled to the home-land, from
whence he returned in 1800, himself now married, and bringing
with him two brides (who, by-the-way, had never seen their
future husbands) for his colleagues Marsveld and Kühnel.

CHAP. The year 1799 was a notable one in the history of Baviaans Kloof, for it witnessed the erection of a second and greatly enlarged church. The increasing number of inhabitants, now totalling, according to a census held in January, 1799, more than 1200, made this imperative. The new edifice was eighty feet long and forty broad, and was estimated to seat an audience of 1000. The inhabitants rendered willing aid, and set about making 200,000 bricks for the building. The Governor granted them leave to cut twenty wagon-loads of timber in the State forests. Precisely twelve months after the foundation-stone had been laid the church was solemnly opened for the public worship of God on 8 January, 1800. It is pleasant to be able to record that the feelings which existed between colonists and missionaries were by this time so harmonious that large numbers of the former habitually attended the Sabbath services at Baviaans Kloof. On Christmas Day of 1799 more than 100 of the whites from the neighbourhood were present at Divine worship; and we are told that in many cases they brought their slaves with them, or, in case it was impossible for both master and slaves to be absent from the farm at the same time, permitted and encouraged them to attend.¹

The mission at Baviaans Kloof had now become a centre of interest to all Christians in South Africa who looked for the coming of the Kingdom of God. In growing numbers visitors from far and near would journey to the station to satisfy themselves by personal inspection of the thoroughness with which the Brethren were doing their work, and of the eminent success which had crowned it. Before the arrival of Kohrhammer and his wife, the three bachelors frequently found themselves hard put to it to provide accommodation for all who sought the shelter of their roof-tree. Such hospitality as they could afford they gladly extended to all who called at the station out of sincere interest in the progress of their work; but less gladly to the numbers of passing travellers, on pleasure or on business bent, who also considered themselves entitled to entertainment by the unwritten law of a land that possessed no road-side inns. To the more eminent of the visitors belong Governor Dundas, Secretary Barnard, Barrow, the author, Dr.

¹ "Geschiedverhaal van Genadendal," pp. 33, 35.

van der Kemp, lately arrived in the Colony, Rev. Vos, and other ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church. All these were greatly impressed by what they saw and heard, and the favourable reports which they spread were of great benefit to the mission cause in South Africa.

In 1800 the ranks of the missionaries were strengthened by fresh accessions. In addition to Sisters Schäfer and Dressler, the brides already mentioned, there arrived as new superintendent of the mission Christian Louis Rose, who with his wife had already served a term of years on the bleak coasts of Labrador. The workers at Baviaans Kloof now numbered ten; and it was well for them that the new church was completed, for the old building could now be utilised as a dwelling-house, for which, since the arrival of the new-comers and the marriage of Marsveld and Kühnel, there was urgent need. Rose found the finances of the mission in a very confused state, and at once set about cutting down the expenditure, which under the régime of the three bachelors had exceeded reasonable bounds. There was no charge against the three Brethren of having expended too much upon themselves, but it appeared upon examination that there was a considerable wastage in the internal domestic economy, and that hospitality had been extended to passing strangers on too generous a scale. The Directors at Herrnhut were faced by an unexpected and most unwelcome demand to settle an outstanding account of some £700, which represented the expenses incurred from the commencement of the mission, including the erection of the church. As the buildings had been put up without the previous consent of the Directors, the latter expressed their dissatisfaction at the action of the missionaries in somewhat strong language, and enjoined upon them the strictest economy for the future. "Confine your hospitality to acquaintances and friends from the town, or to persons of name to whom you owe special respect. But it is no dishonour to say to the many strangers, who for the most part come out of curiosity alone, that it is beyond your powers to receive them. You are not ministers in comfortable circumstances, but poor missionaries, from whom no one can expect that they shall play the host in expensive fashion to families that count many members."¹

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¹ Schneider, p. 156.

CHAP. In the course of the same year (1800) a serious visitation X. befell Baviaans Kloof. This was an epidemic of bilious fever which attacked the whole population, and was so general that hardly a single family escaped. In some homes every person was successively attacked, and the strength and resources of the faithful missionary band were taxed to the utmost. Not only had they to visit their stricken flock and to provide simple remedies, but they soon had to draw upon their own slender store of provisions to feed the improvident and helpless Hottentots. Little could be done beyond administering an emetic—a treatment which the neighbouring physician of the Warm Baths (now Caledon) heartily approved. More than one hundred were carried off by the disease, and numbers only recovered after having reached the very brink of the grave. The heavy affliction had, however, a solemnising influence upon all the inhabitants of the station. To many it brought conviction of sin and true repentance ; and though such numbers were carried off by the fell fever, many souls were at the same time gathered into the fold of the Chief Shepherd. The epidemic continued to rage until the end of the year, when the advent of dry and warm weather effected a change for the better.

In 1803, by the Treaty of Amiens, the Colony reverted to the Batavian Republic, and Governor Jan Willem Janssens assumed the reins of government. Both Janssens himself and his superior officer, Commissioner J. A. de Mist, paid visits to Baviaans Kloof. The former instituted a careful examination into the work done at the mission station, attended public worship, and afterwards provided a feast for the school children. Mr. de Mist, who came with his family and a retinue of State officials, professed his very great admiration for the excellent work of the Brethren. It was at the suggestion of General Janssens that the name "Baviaans Kloof," which means *Kloof of the Baboons*, and is a name of wide occurrence in the Cape Colony, was altered to "Genadendal," that is, *Vale of Grace*; and this change of name was announced in the public papers, and came into force at the commencement of 1806.

At the time of Mr. de Mist's visit there were 1100 persons resident on the mission property,¹ showing a decrease on the

¹ At no place in the whole Colony, except Cape Town, was so large a number of people gathered together in 1806 as at Genadendal.

numbers at the commencement of 1799, owing to the ravages of the epidemic, and the subsequent scarcity of food, which made it necessary for the able-bodied men to go abroad and earn their wages with the white farmers. The Christian community then consisted of:—

Communicants	94
Candidates for communion	21
Baptised adults	131
Baptised children	132
Candidates for baptism	86
<hr/>	
making a total of	464 persons

The inhabitants occupied some two hundred cottages, built of wattle-and-daub, and therefore a great improvement on the old Hottentot huts of poles and rush mats. Each cottage stood in its garden, which, according to Von Bouchenroeder, who saw the station in 1803, was not much more than twenty-five yards long by ten or fifteen broad. Besides these gardens there was a large tract of land where wheat was sown, and which belonged to the whole community. Everywhere the greatest order and neatness were apparent, and it was plain that the missionaries evinced a fatherly concern in, and exercised a wholesome discipline over, the people committed to their charge. The Hottentots possessed but few sheep and cattle, the pasture at Baviaans Kloof being limited in quantity and poor in quality.

The missionaries were living in plain but comfortable dwelling-houses, and employed themselves during the day in teaching in the school, and imparting instruction in certain elementary handicrafts. At nights the whole community assembled in the spacious church for the worship of God. From time to time Hottentots would leave the station for prolonged periods, in order to enter the service of the farmers as herdsmen, wood-cutters or wagon-drivers, or even the service of the Government as soldiers. The missionaries were not, however, favourable towards such absences, as they feared (not without good reason) that in many cases there would be rapid moral retrogression among the men who were removed from their supervision and discipline for so many months at a time. On

CHAP. the whole, no fault could be found with the admirable way in
X. which the station was conducted, and Mr. de Mist was warmly
commendatory in his language.

Towards the end of 1804 the first death occurred among the members of the mission staff. Rose was attacked by an affection of the chest, and in spite of all efforts to relieve him, he succumbed. He had only laboured in the South African field for five years, but his experience and abilities had been of incalculable service to the mission. During his term of office as superintendent the finances were got into something like order, and harmonious relations on this burning subject were re-established between the Directorate and the missionaries. Rose was the first Christian missionary to lay down his life for the cause of Christ in the Cape Colony. A great crowd of Hottentots, augmented by a considerable number of farmers from the neighbourhood, attended the impressive funeral, and stood reverently by while the body of their beloved pastor and friend was laid to rest against the glad day of the resurrection.

The surviving missionaries felt the loss of their superintendent very keenly, since they were then also deprived of the services of Kohrhammer. When the Batavian Government assumed the responsibility for the Cape Colony, they also took over the Hottentot levies who had been formed into a regiment by Governor Sluysken. These Hottentot soldiers were stationed at Rietvlei on the Cape Flats, and numbered more than 400 men, with the addition of some 500 women and children. Governor Janssens felt that so large a number could not be left without spiritual supervision, and he therefore invited Kohrhammer and his wife to remove from Genadendal in order to minister to the spiritual needs of the residents at Rietvlei. The invitation was accepted, and for two years the Kohrhammers devoted themselves, with much self-sacrifice, to work among these pandours. Their sojourn at Rietvlei only ended with the arrival of an English fleet, and the final surrender of the Cape to the English arms, in 1806.

The Earl of Caledon, who was installed as Governor in the following year, was a warm friend of the missionaries at Genadendal. So deeply was he impressed with the importance and utility of the work they were doing for the Hottentots, that he urged upon them the necessity of establishing another institution

on similar lines. For this purpose he offered them a site at Groene Kloof, midway between Cape Town and Saldanha Bay. Groene Kloof, with the two farms adjoining,¹ had been set aside in the early days for those remnants of the Hottentots which had not yet been wholly exterminated. It was a spot of great fertility, containing good pasturage and abundant timber, and lying within easy reach of the capital. The Brethren accepted the offer of Lord Caledon, after stipulating that they should possess the same rights which they exercised at Genadendal, and that they should have liberty to remove from the station any Hottentot who should cause trouble, or whose conduct should be subversive of mission discipline.

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In March, 1808, the work at Groene Kloof (now known as Mamre) was inaugurated by the missionaries Kohrhammer and J. H. Schmidt, with their wives. They interviewed the Hottentot captain of the district, and explained to him the object of their mission; and then, standing under a tree beside a pool of water, they delivered the Gospel message for the first time to about a hundred Hottentots. The labours of the Brethren at this new station were not without fruit, though Groene Kloof never acquired the excellent reputation to which Genadendal had attained. At one time, indeed, the Governor (Lord Charles Somerset) complained that, though there were 300 Hottentots at Groene Kloof, they led lives of laziness and immorality, and demanded of the missionaries that they should introduce for the members of their community a regular system of labour (whether on the station or among neighbouring farmers), adequate penalties and rewards, beyond mere exclusion from the Church, and a register of the amount of labour performed by each one.

At about this time an incident occurred which shows to what risks and dangers missionaries were exposed, even within fifty miles of Cape Town, a hundred years ago. As the missionaries had suffered considerable losses by the depredations of wolves, a day was fixed for the hunting and destruction of those animals. The missionaries Schmidt and Bonatz accordingly set out, accompanied by a number of armed Hottentots. On their return to the station after an unsuccessful

¹ The adjoining farms were called Cruywagens Kraal and Louws Kloof.

CHAP. day, they saw what they took to be a wolf disappear into the brushwood. The dogs were sent after him, and routed out, not a wolf, but a tiger.¹ The fierce beast emerged unexpectedly, and springing upon a Hottentot who stood beside Schmidt, began to claw his face. The missionary levelled his musket at the tiger, but before he could pull the trigger, it had sprung at him. Schmidt thereupon seized his assailant by the throat with one hand, while with the other he endeavoured to protect himself against the terrible, lacerating claws. Being a powerful man, he succeeded in throwing the animal to the ground, when another Hottentot approached and shot it through the heart. The two wounded men were conveyed to the station, medical aid was quickly summoned from Cape Town, and though they suffered much from inflammation, both patients eventually made a good recovery.

In 1810 the first of the three pioneers was called to his reward. It was the faithful Kühnel, who up to the very last was unwearied in his toil. His death occurred at Genadendal at the comparatively early age of 48. The number of missionaries was subsequently again augmented, and in 1814 the staff of workers at Genadendal and Groene Kloof consisted of J. G. Bonatz, H. Marsveld, D. Schwinn, J. M. Leitner, J. G. Schultz, J. H. Schmidt and J. Fritsch, with their wives and families.

Lord Charles Somerset, upon earnest representations being made to him by the missionaries, added 3600 morgen of land to the Genadendal property, so that it again became possible to receive all Hottentots who applied for leave to settle there. The "Commissioners of Circuit"² for the year 1813 report that at the time of their visit there were on the station 232 huts, occupied by 289 men, 337 women, and 531 children—in all, 1157 souls. Since the commencement of the work 700 Hottentots had been confirmed and accepted as members of Christ's Church. They found the cemetery in beautiful order. The baptised and the non-baptised were buried in separate portions, and over each grave was a neat wooden cross bearing a number, which referred to the obituary list kept by the Brethren. They also note that over the graves of still-born children and unbaptised infants was erected a little stone,

¹ The South African "tiger" is really a leopard (*felis pardus*).

² See p. 132.

adorned with the word *Beatus* or *Beata* (according to the child's sex).

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The year 1813 was a critical one in the history of Europe. After a prolonged and stubborn battle, Napoleon had suffered defeat at Leipsic, and the armies of the allies had forced their way to Paris. The despot who had for so long a series of years disturbed the peace of Europe was forced to abdicate, and withdrew to the Island of Elba. As a consequence of the fall of Napoleon, the Orange party obtained the ascendancy in Holland, and the Prince of Orange, for nineteen years an exile, was installed as King of the United Netherlands. He found the finances of the country in a very involved state, and was therefore quite prepared to accept the sum of £6,000,000 in exchange for the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and of three smaller colonies in South America. The claim of England to the Cape Colony was thus placed upon an unequivocal basis, and has never since been seriously challenged.¹

In this year, then, the Moravian Mission attained its majority. The Brethren had now completed twenty-one years of uninterrupted and successful toil, and established upon a solid foundation the mission settlements of Genadendal and Groene Kloof. They had reclaimed the Hottentots among whom their labours lay from absolute heathenism, and had not merely gathered them into a flourishing Christian Church, but had also insisted upon the importance of labour and instructed them in simple handicrafts. Their work had borne away the highest encomiums of all who had seen it—and Genadendal was visited by practically every Governor and every person of distinction who resided in or touched at the Cape Colony in an official or a private capacity. The "Commissioners of Circuit" for the year 1813 praised the inhabitants of Genadendal for their "industry, order and subordination," for the neatness and cleanliness of their homes, for their zeal in attending the religious exercises of the station, and for the excellent relations which obtained between them and the farmers in whose service they were for a portion of the year engaged. The Brethren might well rejoice at the rich blessing which by

¹ It is but just to say that the payment of the £6,000,000 to the Netherlands has been questioned by some modern historians, e.g. Professors Heeres and Molsbergen, (Molsbergen: "A History of South Africa," pp. 80, 201.)

- CHAP. the grace of God had crowned their self-denying efforts, and
X. from the hearts of the two surviving pioneers, Marsveld and
Schwinn, now verging on old age, many a hymn of thanksgiving
must have ascended to heaven for the marvellous changes which
these twenty-one years had witnessed.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST SOUTH AFRICAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Towards the forwarding of this silent, ever-advancing Kingdom our little work, whatever it be, if good and true, may contribute something. And this thought lends to any calling, however lowly, a consecration which is wanting even to the loftiest self-chosen ideals.—PRINCIPAL J. C. SHARPE.

WE must now revert to the year 1799, which, for two reasons especially, is a cardinal date in the history of missions in South Africa : it witnessed the arrival of the first missionaries of the great London Society, and it saw the establishment of the first indigenous South African Society. Postponing for a while the consideration of the commencement of the former mission, we shall in this chapter briefly review the history of the latter institution.

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The hearts of Christians and mission friends at the Cape had been greatly cheered by the news of the founding of the earliest missionary societies in England.¹ Interest was increased by the establishment of the Netherlands Missionary Society² at Rotterdam in 1797, and the desire was awakened to see a similar society founded in South Africa. Nothing was, however, done until the arrival of Dr. van der Kemp with the first party of London missionaries. Of this remarkable man much more will be said in subsequent chapters of this history. He brought with him a letter addressed to the Christians of the Cape Colony by the Directors of the London Missionary Society, and this letter was publicly read to the congregation from their respective pulpits by the ministers of Cape Town and Roodezand (Tulbagh). It recounted how a missionary spirit had been aroused in England and Holland, resulting in the establishment, among others, of the

¹ Baptist Missionary Society, 1792; London Missionary Society, 1795.

² "Het Nederlandsche Zendeling Genootschap ter voortplanting en bevordering van het Christendom onder de Heidenen."

- CHAP. London Society, which had commenced its missionary endeavours in Oceania. It further announced the intention of the Directors to inaugurate a work among the Kafirs, and recommended to their notice and intercession the four workers who had just arrived. The letter continued in the following terms :—

The blessing which we have experienced in our own hearts has rewarded our endeavours with a speedy consolation, and we call upon you, beloved brethren, to join us in this glorious work, and to emulate your friends in the Netherlands, who have heartily identified themselves with us, and have sent us two of their faithful compatriots, whom we have received as our own. Dr. van der Kemp, when he addressed his fellow-countrymen on our behalf, was granted the fullest sympathy, and his zeal kindled that of his brethren. A missionary society was immediately established in Holland, and we trust that it will so increase that we shall presently see the happy results.

Arise then, brethren, we adjure you, unite for the attainment of these noble objects. The heathen who surround you, call to you : "Come over and help us!" You are situated in the vicinity of those parts which still lie wholly under the power of the prince of darkness, and near those habitations of cruelty to which no ray of the Sun of Righteousness has yet penetrated. From feeble endeavours we have seen great issues arise. We have been witnesses of a gracious condescension of our incarnate God, who has led us by a way which we have not known. We are palpably and deeply convinced that He strengthens the weak, and will guide this labour of love to a happy issue ; and we are therefore encouraged to go forward, and to invite you, brethren, to become sharers in the mercy shown to us, and to unite yourselves zealously in the difficult undertaking of sending forth men filled with faith and with the Holy Ghost, in order to carry the tidings of Him who was crucified, and to announce His victory over the god of this world.¹

The reading of this letter created great enthusiasm in Christian circles in Cape Town. It was felt that the time had come for something practical to be done. Subscription lists were opened, and funds began to flow in. A widow, Mrs. M. A. Möller, alone subscribed the sum of £1250. Several preliminary meetings were held before a society was actually established. The difficulties were many, and a number of good friends advised caution and delay. But Dr. van der Kemp waved aside all objections, and aided by the Rev. M. C. Vos, that sincere friend of all missionary effort, succeeded in putting

¹ The whole letter appears in the "Honingbij," pt. V, pp. 82-84.

the matter through before his departure from Cape Town for the interior. The 22nd April, 1799, may be considered as the birthday of the first South African Missionary Society, which assumed the name and title of "Het Zuid Afrikaansche Genootschap ter bevordering van de Uitbreiding van Christus Koningrijk" (*The South African Society for Promoting the Extension of Christ's Kingdom*). The constitution of the new Society was expressed in sixteen articles, which after submission to the Fiscal, Mr. W. S. van Ryneveld, for suggestions, were duly approved of by Governor Dundas. Eight names¹ were proposed as a Directorate for Cape Town, and to these was added the name of the Rev. M. C. Vos.

Of the sixteen articles which formed the constitution of the new Society two only require to be quoted, for they were considered of such importance that they could by no means be rescinded or amended. The *first* article described the Society's aim and object: "The object of this Society shall be to promote, by all means which lie within its power, the extension of Christ's Kingdom among the unenlightened in this Colony, and among the heathen both within and without its bounds". The *fifth* article sought to define the Society's attitude towards the Government: "The attention of the Directors of this Society is most earnestly directed to the general duty of every Christian, to render all submission and reverence to the temporal Power, for the Lord's sake, and carefully to refrain from anything which may be repugnant to the rules that have been promulgated in things civil and ecclesiastical". For the terms in which both these articles were expressed there existed excellent reasons, but we shall presently see that the Society was considerably hampered in its work by the existence of articles one and five.

The newly appointed Directors set to work with commendable promptitude. Copies of the letter of the London Society were printed and then distributed to all parts of the country. In Cape Town measures were adopted for extending the work which hitherto had been unostentatiously performed, in the

¹ They were: Caje Petrus Slotsboo, Bartholomeus Schonken, Gabriel Jacobus Vos, Frederik Simon Berning, Hendrik de Waal, Sr., Franciscus Xaverius Jurgens, Michiel Pentz and Johannes Smuts. On Messrs. de Waal and Smuts declining to accept office, Messrs. Zulch and Heyses were appointed in their stead.

CHAP. interests of slaves and servants, by various Christian men and XI. women. A lay brother,¹ after securing a room, commenced a successful work in the slums adjoining the sea-shore, and continued at his task until forced by illness to desist. The missionaries Tromp and Van der Lingen, who belonged to the second party sent out by the London Society, could render but a brief assistance in Cape Town, and soon proceeded to the spheres of work for which they had been intended, Van der Lingen to Graaff Reinet and Tromp to Wagonmaker's Valley, now Wellington. The Directors then secured the services of Missionary Manenberg, who laboured with such devotion that he was subsequently added to the Directorate, and for a time acted as its chairman.

The advent of the Batavian Government in 1803 brought with it a host of troubles for the recently formed Society. Commissioner-General de Mist, though expressing modified approval of the constitution and aims of the Society, was profoundly distrustful of the nature of the work done in Cape Town. He affirmed that the Society was encroaching on the sphere belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, as the recognised Church of the country. He was strongly opposed to permitting the missionary to baptise, to administer holy communion, or even to hold services on the Sabbath. He insisted that the true work of a missionary society was to labour among the heathen far beyond the confines of settled congregations. The Directors replied to De Mist's strictures in a long memorial, in which they gave an account of the establishment of their Society, and emphatically denied that they had done or were doing anything which could be construed as an act of disloyalty to the Dutch Reformed Church. Nay, they offered their church building, now nearly completed and ready for dedication, to the authorities of the Dutch Reformed Church for the usual weekly evening service. De Mist, however, was not to be moved. He had no objection to a mere informal gathering (*gezelschap*) in a private dwelling, but could permit no worship (*godsdiens*) in a sacred edifice, and decreed that no missionary should be allowed to labour at a site that was less than three days' journey from a place at which a church of the Reformed religion was erected and a congregation established.²

¹ His name was Pieter Kuypers.

² "Honingbij," pt. V, p. 151.

The antagonistic attitude of De Mist towards the Mission Society so disheartened Manenberg that he withdrew from the work, and Van der Lingen, who had returned from Graaff Reinet, was temporarily appointed. The differences between the Directors and De Mist continued unabated, and the former had occasion more than once to question their wisdom in drawing up that irrevocable fifth article, which delivered them, bound hand and foot, into the power of the Government. Governor Janssens, however, was less unyielding than De Mist, and during the absence of the latter on a tour through the country, he granted permission to the Directors to open their new church for public worship. This ceremony duly took place on 15 March, 1804, when the edifice was dedicated to the service of God by the senior Dutch Reformed minister of Cape Town, the Rev. J. P. Serrurier.¹ The spirit of anti-pathy displayed by the Government could not but act as a wet-blanket upon the earnest aspirations of the Directors, and though the work among the slaves was carried on in private by faithful friends, it was fifteen years after the opening of the new church before its pulpit was supplied with a regular missionary in the person of the Rev. J. H. Beck.²

The place of worship which was thus opened for the service of God was built on a portion of ground situated in Long Street that had been purchased, with the dwelling-house and store standing upon it, from Mr. J. J. van den Berg for the sum of £4500. As it would have been rank ecclesiastical rebellion to call the edifice a church, it was designated "het groote oefeningshuis" (*the great meeting-house*). The Directors were able to report that, owing doubtless to the good-will which

¹ It is said that when Com. de Mist heard of this, he cried in anger: "May fire from heaven consume it!" "But [adds our informant] what he wished as an evil has come upon us for good. The fire of God has indeed descended, and (as we trust) has melted many sinners' hearts" ("Ned. Z.-A. Tijdschrift" for 1824, p. 25).

² It must not be supposed that it was only the Batavian Government that cast obstacles in the way of the Society. When during the first English régime the Directors applied for leave to take a collection in aid of their work at their weekly prayer-meeting, the Fiscal refused permission. And when again leave was asked to send J. M. Kok as missionary to the Bushmen, the reply of the Fiscal was that it was against the law to allow any one to proceed beyond the boundaries of the Colony. It was only after several attempts that Kok obtained permission to accompany Edwards. (Minutes of Society, 16 Aug., 1799, and 26 April, 1800.)

CHAP. Governor Janssens bore them, the transfer dues payable to
XI. Government had been graciously remitted. The opening of
the "meeting-house" also brought them encouraging letters
from other mission societies, among which special mention must
be made of the Stockholm society *Pro Fide et Christianismo*.

In 1803 the Society consisted of some 500 members, many
of whom were men of wealth and influence. Branches of the
Society were established at Roodezand (the parish of Rev.
Vos), at Stellenbosch, at Wagonmaker's Valley (now Wellington),
in Outeniqualand (the present district of George), at
Graaff Reinet, and elsewhere. In course of time several of these
branch societies became the centres of independent work, and
severed their connection with the original Society. The first
impulse towards missionary work came, however, from the
mother society, which can thus claim the credit of having in-
augurated, or at any rate organised and directed, the earliest
mission undertakings in which the colonists themselves were
engaged.

Besides the work in Cape Town the Society co-operated
with the London and Rotterdam Societies in supporting mis-
sionaries at a greater distance inland. The first South African
to offer himself for mission work among the inland native tribes
was Cornelius Kramer, whose name is of frequent occurrence
in the earliest letters of Van der Kemp and Kicherer. While
the London missionaries, who had decided to divide their forces
between the Bushmen and the Kafirs, were looking out for a
man to accompany Edwards to the former tribes, Kramer
offered his services for work among that degraded people.
This young man had intended to proceed to Holland, in order
to study for the ministry, but the call to accompany the mis-
sionaries who were proceeding northward seemed so clear, that
he relinquished his original intention and joined them. Part
of Kramer's expenses were borne by the South African Mission-
ary Society. The Society was also instrumental in sending J.
M. Kok to the Briquas (or Bechuanas, as they were subsequently
called). Kok, however, as will be narrated later on, was
murdered by two Briquas who had been in his employ, and
the mission was relinquished. For a considerable period the
widow of the murdered Kok was in receipt of a pension of
twelve shillings per month from the Society's funds. Success-

ful work was accomplished at Stellenbosch by the missionary Bakker, of whom mention was made in a former chapter, and at Roodezand by Missionary Foster, both of whom arrived in Cape Town in 1801.

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The attempt of the Society to open a school for slave children in Cape Town was shipwrecked on the rock of governmental antagonism. The brief Batavian interregnum was over, and the English authorities were again, and finally, established at the Castle of the Cape of Good Hope. The Board of Directors conceived it to be a favourable moment for obtaining permission to instruct the slaves; but Earl Caledon replied that Government was itself devising means to establish a school for the slaves, and that the Society would be better advised to put its strength into mission undertakings at a distance from Cape Town. This was, however, the last vestige of opposition which the Society encountered, for when, in 1809, it commenced the tenth year of its existence, it also entered upon a period of successful and unhindered work. As one of the causes which contributed towards this happy result is mentioned, curiously enough, the earthquake which occurred on 4 December of that year, and which, says our informant, "caused a shock to the religious feelings also, and imparted to the work a new impulse". Many persons were led to think seriously about the salvation of their souls, and a weekly prayer-meeting every Saturday evening, in addition to the monthly, was begun, and continued for many years.

The operations of the Society were greatly extended in the year 1817, when the Directors were offered a portion of ground in the district of Swellendam (now, of Ladismith) for the purpose of a missionary institution. Leave was asked and obtained from the Government to commence a mission in the new field, the station received the name of Zoar, and a colonist named Joubert was appointed as missionary. In the face of many difficulties Joubert continued faithfully to perform his duties for several years, but the failure of the crops and the lack of other adequate support forced him eventually to resign his position. For a long time the Directors were unable to appoint another missionary until, in 1837, they secured the services of two members of the Berlin Mission, Messrs. Gregorowski and Radloff. Six years later an agreement was

CHAP. XI. entered into with that Society to take over the work at Zoar for a period of ten years. At the lapse of that time it was proposed to continue the agreement for another ten years, but meanwhile serious dissatisfaction had been aroused in the minds of the Zoar people by the introduction of an altar, a crucifix and candles into the Church. The Directors therefore introduced a clause into the new agreement by which these innovations should be banished from the Church, and in this the Superintendent of the Berlin Society acquiesced. The Board in Germany, however, refused their assent to the proposed new clause; and the Directors of the South African Society, rather than yield on this point, which they rightly considered a matter of principle, effected a separation between Zoar and the neighbouring Berlin station Amalienstein, and resumed the charge of the mission at the former place. In the interim before the appointment of a missionary, George Wilson was transferred from Cape Town to Zoar as teacher, and carried on the work with ability and devotion until the arrival, in 1856, of the Rev. Johann Carl Knobel. The station at that time counted 159 families and 672 inhabitants, of whom 180 were members of the Church.

The Society had long desired to do something for the large Malay population of Cape Town, but no suitable man could at first be found to undertake this difficult task. In 1824 negotiations were opened with the Rev. W. Elliot, who had been a missionary on the island of Johanna, one of the Comoro group. Elliot had a working knowledge of Arabic, and was intimately acquainted with the Mohammedan religious system, and was therefore considered to be the very man whom the Directors were in search of. He was, however, on his way to England, and it was only on his return in the following year that he entered the service of the Society. For three years he continued to labour with great zeal and devotion, but the soil was barren, the prejudice deep-rooted, and the support of Christian friends slack, and he therefore was compelled to sever his connection with this mission. So ended the first futile attempt, a precursor of many more equally futile, to carry the Gospel of Christ to the Mohammedans of Cape Town.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EARLIEST LONDON MISSIONARIES.

A man shall and must be valiant; he must march forward and quit himself like a man—trusting imperturbably in the appointment and choice of the upper Powers; and, on the whole, not fear at all. Now and always, the completeness of his victory over Fear will determine how much of a man he is.
—THOMAS CARLYLE.

My sword I give to him who shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me, that I have fought His battles who will now be my Rewarder.—So he passed over.—JOHN BUNYAN. (The Testament of Mr. Valiant-for-Truth.)

THE London Missionary Society can claim the honour of being the first British society to enter the South African field. Embazoned on its roll of heroes are some of the most prominent and most honourable names in the history of South African missions. Van der Kemp and Philip, Moffat and Livingstone, were men who left their mark indelibly impressed upon the page of Cape history; and though in many points their mission views and methods have excited disapproval, none can refuse them the honour due to talent, industry and Christian character. The advent of the first emissaries of the London Society may therefore well be regarded as an epochal event for the cause of Christian missions in South Africa.

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It lies outside the scope of this work to recount the manner in which this Society had its birth. Suffice it to say that it was established in London in the year 1795, on an inter-denominational basis. In course of time, however, the Episcopalian and Presbyterians, who had so far supported the London Society, began to turn their attention and divert their gifts to the societies established in connection with their own Churches, and the London Society became practically the missionary agency of the Congregationalists. The first field which the Society entered was Oceania. Some of the Directors

CHAP. XII. had been arrested by the dark description which Captain Cook had given of the native races of the South Seas, and it was decided to send the first missionaries to the distant islands of the Pacific. In 1796 the ship "Duff," commanded by the Christian captain, James Wilson, sailed for the new sphere of labour with the first party. The Directors next turned their attention to the continent of darkness, Africa, and in conjunction with the Glasgow and Edinburgh Societies, despatched a party of six men to Sierra Leone to commence a work among the Fulahs. This mission, however, ended disastrously. At the end of less than a year three of the six missionaries had fallen victims to the deadly climate, one had to be recalled, and the other two continued their work for a brief time only.

The fact that the British had in 1795 gained possession of the Cape of Good Hope led the Directors next to consider the desirability of commencing a mission in the newly acquired Colony. In 1797 a letter was addressed to the secretary of the Directorate by an unknown man who wrote from Dordrecht in Holland, and who signed himself J. T. van der Kemp. He offered himself to the Society as a missionary, and proposed also to act as its agent in Holland, and by every means in his power to promote its interests. Van der Kemp was at this time a man of nearly 50 years of age, having been born in 1748. His was an eventful history, and a brief account of his life must now be given.

Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp was born at Rotterdam, the son of a minister of the Lutheran Church. After his preliminary studies he became a student of medicine at the University of Leyden, but before taking his degree he left the university and entered the army. For sixteen years he thus served his country, attaining to the rank of a lieutenant of Dragoons and captain of Horse. During his martial years he describes himself as "a slave to vice and ungodliness," and speaks of the scandalous irregularities of his life, to which, however, marriage put an end. A personal misunderstanding with the Prince of Orange, with whom he was intimate, is said to have been the cause of the severance of his connection with the army. He now proceeded to the University of Edinburgh, where, after two years' study, he was duly admitted to the degree of M.D. Returning to his native country he practised as

a physician in the town of Middelburg. He describes himself as being at this time a deist, who conceived it to be his duty strenuously to deny the divinity of Christ and the authority of Holy Scripture ; and he believed, like Saul of old, that he was thereby doing God service.

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A sudden and overwhelming calamity was the cause of his conversion. While crossing a river with his family, the boat capsized, the occupants were precipitated into the water, his wife and only child perished before assistance could be rendered, and Van der Kemp himself was only saved by a miracle from a like watery grave. This dreadful disaster, and the poignant grief which it caused, wrought a revolution in his life. A week after the fatal occurrence he yielded himself to God, desiring thenceforth to devote himself to Him and to His cause alone. For a time he was director of a hospital near Rotterdam, but shortly after he withdrew into private life, employing his leisure in the study of Oriental literature, and in completing a commentary on Romans on which he had been for some years engaged. He then saw an address on foreign missions which the Directors of the London Missionary Society had caused to be printed and circulated ; and the perusal of that address led him to offer his services to the Society.

After the Directors had set on foot inquiries as to Van der Kemp's antecedents, and had satisfied themselves regarding his character and abilities, they invited him to London in order to confer together. In London Van der Kemp spent several months in intercourse with the founders and supporters of the Society, and their impression was deepened that God had guided them to the very man who could best act as the pioneer of a new and arduous undertaking. Before setting out for South Africa, Van der Kemp paid a final visit to Holland, and assisted in establishing the Netherlands Missionary Society, which had its headquarters at Rotterdam. He also secured as companion missionary a young minister named Johannes Jacobus Kicherer. In December, 1798, these two Hollanders, accompanied by the two Englishmen John Edmond¹ and William Edwards, set sail for the Cape of Good Hope in the "Hillsborough," a convict ship bound for Botany Bay. The

¹ Or Edmonds; we find it written both ways.

CHAP. voyage was a prolonged one, lasting until the last day of
 XII. March, 1799. Pleasant it could not be, for the vessel was crowded to excess with unhappy convicts, who were goaded to desperation by the miseries and maltreatment to which they were exposed, and among whom the missionaries moved like ministering angels. To crown all, fever attacked the imprisoned wretches, and no less than thirty-four died before the Cape was reached.

A warm welcome awaited the four brethren on landing in Table Bay. Michiel Vos hastened from his parish at Roodezand to grasp the hands of these new heralds of the Cross. Christian friends offered them the hospitality of their homes. The Dutch ministers of Cape Town read from their pulpits the letter which the Directors of the Society in London had addressed to the Christians of South Africa. General Dundas, the Governor, and Mr. van Ryneveld, the Fiscal, granted them audiences, evinced great interest in the work they proposed to undertake, and promised them all possible aid and protection. The practical result of their stay was, as has been already related, the establishment of the South African Society for Promoting the Extension of Christ's Kingdom. The mission at the southern extremity of the Dark Continent was being inaugurated under the happiest auspices.

It had always been Van der Kemp's intention to labour among the Kafirs on the eastern border of the Colony. Before the missionaries left Cape Town, however, it was decided that their forces should be divided, and that Van der Kemp and Edmond should proceed eastwards to the Kafirs, while Kicherer and Edwards should turn their attention to the Boschjessmannen, or Bushmen. The reason for this decision was one of those events which plainly reveal the presence of an overruling Providence in the lives of men. At the very time when the four missionaries set foot on the shores of Table Bay, there arrived in Cape Town two Bushmen and a Koranna whom we shall call by their Dutch names of Vigilant, Slaparm ("Weak Arm") and Ooram ("Knowing One"). Peace had been effected between the tribes to which they belonged and the colonists through the mediation of the excellent field-cornet, Floris Visser. This Visser was a man of character and piety, whose custom it was, even when journeying, to gather his

companions and then to offer prayer and sing a psalm both morning and night. The Bushmen were deeply impressed when they saw this good man and his fellow Boers at their devotions, and they expressed an earnest desire to learn to know the God whom the Dutchmen worshipped. Visser promised to assist them, and recommended them to visit Cape Town in person and there prefer their request for a teacher or a missionary. They followed his advice, and while they were travelling to Cape Town in search of missionaries, the missionaries whom God had prepared for them were speeding towards the same place across the blue waters.

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Let us first briefly trace the fortunes of the missionaries to the Bushmen, since they were the first to succeed in establishing a station. Kicherer and Edwards left Cape Town in May, 1799, and travelled in company with their two colleagues to Roodezand. Here some days were spent in careful thought and prayer for the future of the mission, and Edwards and Edmond were solemnly ordained and set apart for the work of the ministry. After the departure of Van der Kemp and Edmond for Graaff Reinet, the other two brethren remained at Roodezand, waiting for the expected wagon to convey them to the unknown north. Meanwhile the young colonist Cornelius Kramer came offering his services as assistant missionary, and was warmly welcomed into the mission ranks. Eventually, when no conveyance arrived, a wagon and oxen were borrowed from friends at Roodezand, and thus equipped the three young men left civilisation behind and set their faces towards the country of the Bushmen. In a week's time they reached the farm of Floris Visser, who had received instructions from Government to render the travellers every assistance in his power. The surrounding farmers were exceedingly friendly and presented the missionaries with seven cows, one calf, and 127 sheep; while Visser himself—practical man!—wrote to the Government that nothing could be undertaken by the two pioneers unless they were provided with a wagon each, and a number of natives to assist in erecting a house for them.

At Visser's the missionaries remained for three weeks, and then commenced their further travels, accompanied by their host and several other friends. They took with them, as gifts from the kindly colonists dwelling around, six wagons full of

CHAP. XII. provisions, sixty oxen, and close upon 200 sheep. Near the banks of the Zak River they found a clear and excellent fountain, and at this spot they decided to settle, calling it Blijde Vooruitzichts Fontein ("Fountain of Glad Prospect"). After assisting the mission trio to erect a temporary home (*hartebeest-huis*), Visser and his friends turned homeward, leaving the inexperienced missionaries to their own resources.

Kicherer was one of the earliest Europeans to make careful observations of the life and customs of the Bushmen, and what he states is therefore worthy of attention. He describes their manner of life as "very horrible". Their dwellings were merely the dens of the rocks or a hollow in the earth over which could be spread a skin or a bit of matting. They mostly spent their time in sleep, except when hunger drove them into the hunting field; but they could exist for a long period without food, or with only the wild onions and other bulbs and roots which the *veld* provided. "Their language [says Kicherer] is so difficult to learn that no one can spell or write the same. It consists mostly of a clicking with the tongue. . . . The Bushmen will kill their children without remorse on various occasions, as when those children are ill-shaped, when they themselves are in want of food, when the father of a child has forsaken its mother, or when obliged to flee from the farmers and others: in which case they will strangle them, smother them, cast them away in the desert, or bury them alive. They frequently forsake their aged relations when removing from place to place for the sake of hunting. In this case they leave the old person with a piece of meat, and an ostrich-eggshell full of water; as soon as this stock is exhausted the poor deserted creatures must perish by hunger, or become the prey of wild beasts. Many of these people live by plunder and murder, and are guilty of the most horrid and atrocious actions."¹

To these degraded and depraved creatures came the missionaries, eager to bring them the good tidings of the Gospel. Very little impression could, however, be made upon the scattered individuals of a race that stood at a lower stage socially and religiously than any other race upon the face of the globe, that had no chief, no family life, no social cohesion, no tribal

¹ "Transactions of the Missionary Society," II, pp. 9-12. Quoted in Lovett's "History," I, pp. 520, 521.

organisation, and apparently none of those religious beliefs and ceremonies which even the most savage races profess and practise. By the offer of meat and tobacco an occasional Bushman was enticed to the wagon or the hut of a missionary; but as none of the missionaries ever succeeded in mastering the Bushman tongue, intercourse was difficult, and it always remained a matter of uncertainty whether the European had made himself rightly understood.

Kicherer's stay at Blijde Vooruitzichts Fontein was brief. In less than six months' time we find him journeying back to Cape Town, ostensibly with a view to procuring further supplies in order to support the Bushmen who had congregated in the vicinity of his station. It appears, however, that Kicherer was a restless person, who found it difficult to continue to toil steadfastly at an uncongenial task, for we find him constantly moving from place to place—now at Zak River, now on the Orange River, then away to the north, and presently again at Cape Town on the way to Holland and England. At any rate, his appeal for provisions and funds in order to secure the presence of the Bushmen at his station was successful; the South African Missionary Society voted him 300 rixdollars (£22. 10s.), and the country friends gave so liberally that he returned to his station with four cows and 136 sheep. These efforts to attract the Bushmen were rewarded with but a very partial success. The men who were eventually persuaded to erect a few huts at the station were not Bushmen at all, but pure Hottentots, who of course were far more intelligent than the Bushmen, and indeed in great part civilised and christianised. As a mission to the *Bushmen*, the work of Kicherer in the neighbourhood of the Zak River must be characterised as a failure; but as a stepping-stone to the distant north, and the developments in the near future of the work among Griquas and Bechuana, the Zak River mission was not without importance.

In September, 1800, the second party of missionaries of the London Society landed in Cape Town. They were the Englishmen William Anderson and James Read, and the Hollanders Bastiaan Tromp and A. A. van der Lingen. It was originally intended that Read and Van der Lingen should join Dr. van der Kemp in the Kafir mission, but as the eastern

CHAP. XII. border of the Colony was in a state of continual unrest, and there seemed little prospect of establishing a mission there, they were sent temporarily to labour at Wagonmaker's Valley, at the charges of the South African Missionary Society. Tromp was to serve the same Society in Cape Town, and Anderson was destined for the work in the north. In February of 1801 Kicherer and Anderson took their departure from Cape Town, and two months later we find the latter on the banks of the Orange River, 150 miles beyond the Zak River. This was plainly a forward movement which now calls for some explanation.

It was very soon apparent to the missionaries that the Zak River work was never likely to attain to any considerable dimensions. The Bushmen in whose interests it had been started could not be reached : they were the Ishmaels of the Karroo and the desert, whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against them. The few Hottentots and half-breeds found in these parts were too widely scattered, and led too vagrant a life, to make it possible to do a satisfactory work among them. On the other hand, many requests had reached the missionaries from the Korannas, a Hottentot tribe living along the Orange River, and from the Bastaards, or half-breeds, beyond that river, to settle among them. These requests seemed to be a distinct call from God to push forward still farther northward, and this led to a commencement of mission work among the people afterwards known as Griquas. It was several years before the missionaries finally came to rest at permanent centres. The half-breeds among whom their labours now chiefly lay, were a pastoral people, who during the greater part of the year were moving from place to place with their flocks and herds in search of pastureage and water. This vagrant existence was naturally detrimental to the work which the missionaries hoped to accomplish, and they therefore used all their endeavours to persuade the natives to exchange the nomadic for a more settled life, and to engage in agricultural pursuits.

The year 1801 saw yet another forward movement, and one which was destined in the providence of God to have far-reaching issues. Edwards had never seemed to be on cordial terms with Kicherer, and when on a visit to Cape Town at

the commencement of the year had lodged with the Directors of the South African Missionary Society some very serious charges against his brother missionary. He seemed to be always desirous of getting beyond the sphere in which Kicherer's influence was supreme, and therefore he proceeded northward, accompanied by his wife¹ and the volunteer missionary, J. M. Kok (whose name has been mentioned already), until the Kuruman River was reached. They were greatly assisted on their way by an expedition under the command of Messrs. Truter and Somerville, which had been fitted out by the Cape Government and despatched northward to obtain information regarding, and barter cattle from, the distant tribes beyond the Orange.²

We have thus, in 1801, the following missionaries at work in the northern field: first of all, the men who had been sent out by the London and Rotterdam Societies, namely Edwards, on the Kuruman River; Anderson, at Rietfontein, forty miles north of the Orange River; and Kicherer, at the Zak River. Then there were the colonists who had engaged in mission work, namely Kramer with Anderson at Rietfontein, Kok with Edwards at the most northerly post, and Jacobus Scholtz and Christiaan Botma, who had latterly joined the mission. These men were the first to reach the doors which stood slightly ajar, and to push them wide open. The stations founded by these pioneers were never wholly relinquished, and they laid the first stones of the imperishable monument which it has been granted to the London Missionary Society to raise among the tribes of the then far-off north.

¹ He had married a Cape Town lady, Miss M. Schönnberg.

² See an interesting account of this expedition by one who was a member of it—P. B. Borchards: "Autobiographical Memoir," pp. 40-108.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LONDON MISSION IN ITS NORTHWARD DEVELOPMENT.

A region of emptiness, howling and drear,
Which man hath abandoned from famine and fear;
Which the snake and the lizard inhabit alone,
With the twilight bat from the yawning stone;
Where grass nor herb nor shrub takes root,
Save poisonous thorns that pierce the foot;
And the bitter-melon, for food and drink,
Is the pilgrim's fare by the salt lake's brink:
A region of drought, where no river glides,
Nor rippling brook with osiered sides;
Where sedgy pool, nor bubbling fount,
Nor tree, nor cloud, nor misty mount
Appears, to refresh the aching eye:
But the barren earth, and the burning sky,
And the blank horizon, round and round
Spread—void of living sight or sound.

THOMAS PRINGLE.

CHAP. DURING the first decade of the nineteenth century the London
XIII. Society succeeded in occupying, with more or less permanence
of tenure, four fields in South Africa. The first was on the
eastern border, where Dr. van der Kemp had inaugurated a
work among the Hottentots. Of this sphere of labour we shall
speak more fully in a later chapter. The remaining fields lay
beyond the northern border of the Colony, among the Griquas,
the Bechuana and the Namaquas respectively, and of these we
must now give a fuller account.

THE GRIQUA-HOTTENTOT MISSION.

For some years Anderson and Kramer were compelled to
shift from place to place, as the exigencies of pasturage and
water led the tribes among whom their labours lay from one
district to another. Eventually, however, they settled down
at Klaarwater, which from that time onward was the focus of
the work among the Griquas. Anderson was apparently a

man of good sense, and soon acquired a considerable hold upon the people with whom he had to deal. The establishment of a permanent settlement at Klaarwater is a tribute to his personal influence. Lichtenstein the traveller, who visited the station in 1805, describes it as a "Hottentot republic under the patriarchal government of the missionaries," and recommends the little State to the earnest support of the Cape Government. The inhabitants of Klaarwater were of two sections, first—the Bastaards or half-breeds, who were in part descended from white Christian families, and second—the Hottentots, belonging to the Koranna and Namaqua tribes. These different elements the missionaries were endeavouring, with infinite patience, to weld into a homogeneous whole, and to induce to engage in agricultural pursuits. The agricultural undertakings were not, however, very successful. The dry years which ensued—and this portion of South Africa is one of its driest areas—and the lack of water generally, greatly hindered their efforts. In spite of all difficulties, however, the numbers of the little community were continually augmented by those who found the security of a mission-station preferable to a nomad life which was exposed to perpetual attacks by the marauding bands who frequented the banks of the Orange. When Burchell visited Klaarwater in 1809, its total population stood at 784 souls. The latter traveller refers to one of the chief obstacles to the success of the Klaarwater mission—the invincible indolence of the inhabitants. The church and parsonage which had been commenced seven years earlier had never been completed. The foundations had been securely laid, and the walls carried to the height of six feet, but the Hottentots had tired of the undertaking, and neither threats nor entreaty could move them to complete the buildings.

In 1805 Lambert Jansz or Janssen joined the brethren at Klaarwater. His arrival was exceedingly opportune, as shortly before a small-pox epidemic had greatly decimated the ranks of the Klaarwater people, while Anderson himself had nearly succumbed to an attack of fever. By the accession of Janssen, the older men were enabled to journey to the Colony for a period of much-needed rest. Various circumstances conspired to prevent their early return, and for two years Janssen remained alone at Klaarwater. During this time of

CHAP. XIII. solitude and isolation he was frequently exposed to imminent danger. On one occasion a horde of Kafirs bent on murder and pillage threatened an attack on the station. The missionary summoned his people to special prayer. Then an embassy was sent to the marauders to placate them with peaceful words and generous gifts ; and contrary to their custom they withdrew, and the Klaarwater people heard with relief that the crisis was past and the danger averted.

In 1811 Anderson and Kramer returned to Klaarwater, bringing with them the wives whom in the interim they had married. After only a few months' residence, however, Mrs. Kramer fell ill, and, in spite of all efforts, died in January, 1812. She was the first white woman laid to rest beyond the Orange River, and the first of the missionary band to give her life for the great cause. Kramer himself continued to labour on alone for three years more, and then returned to Tulbagh, severing his connection with the London mission, but not ceasing to evince the keenest interest in the progress of the work at Klaarwater. In later years we find Kramer still actively engaged in mission work among the Hottentots and slaves of the Boschjesveld (between the present towns of Worcester and Villiersdorp). Anderson remained at Klaarwater for five years after his colleague's departure, and was then moved to another station of the Society, Pacaltsdorp.

THE BECHUANA MISSION.

The first missionaries to penetrate to the Bechuana tribes were, as we have seen, Edwards and Kok. Settled along the course of the Kuruman River they found two native tribes, the Batlapi¹ and the Batlaro, and among these they commenced proclaiming the Gospel. The paramount chief of the Batlapi¹ tribe was, at this time, Molehabangue, who appears to have been a man of note, kind to strangers, and distinguished both for his bravery in war and his statesmanship in time of peace. Molehabangue received the missionaries in friendly manner, and indicated where they might establish themselves and erect their dwellings. The manner of life which these pioneers had necessarily to face is described by Borcherts, one of the members of the Truter-Somerville expedition which visited Molehabangue in 1802, in the following words :—

¹ Also called *Batlaping*.

Edwards' habitation was a small hut of reeds, furnished with a couple of wooden boxes, a few camp chairs, and a table. His bed was a mat on the ground. His wagon had been much damaged, and the tent or covering nearly worn out. His span of oxen looked poor. His only servant was an aged slave. His wife was approaching her confinement, while he was abandoned by his Bushman servants. He was surrounded by unknown natives and had to rely on his gun for food. . . . I had known Mrs. Edwards in comparative affluence, living with her parents in Cape Town. She and her husband trusted in the Lord, and were not forsaken in the desert, but laid there the foundation for future missionary labours.

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As to the character of Edwards testimonies differ. The Moravian missionaries of Genadendal thought well of him, and placed on record their belief that "by his humility, his faith in God, and his love to the Saviour, he was a source of edification and blessing to many". Moffat, on the other hand, writing in 1842, said of him that "he went to barter as far as the Bauangketsi, a powerful nation north of the Molapo River, and having amassed a handsome sum, and long forsaken his God, he left the country, retired to the Colony, purchased a farm and slaves, and is now, or was some years since, a hoary-headed infidel. I write what I know, having reasoned with him on the subject, when he treated my arguments with indignity and scorn."¹

Two things are clear beyond dispute: *first*, that Edwards' relations with his fellow-missionaries, and especially with his colleague Kok, were never harmonious. Of the baseless accusations levelled by him against the excellent Kicherer, we have already spoken. Again during Kok's brief visit to Cape Town, in 1802, the latter was cross-examined by the Directors of the South African Missionary Society as to the alleged differences between himself and Edwards, and the reasons which he gave seem to have satisfied that Board. *Secondly*, it is indubitable that both Edwards and Kok supported themselves as missionaries by engaging in trading operations with the natives. As early as 1802 Edwards ceased to be supported by the London Missionary Society, though whether the withdrawal of support was the consequence of, or the reason for, his trading undertakings, it is difficult to say—probably the latter. Kok, too, who had taken up mission work on his own initiative and at his own charges, seems soon to have relapsed into trading.

¹ "Missionary Labours," p. 216.

CHAP. Such conduct must, naturally, have been very detrimental to
XIII. the progress of the Kingdom of God among the Bechuana.

But worse was to follow. It was necessary for the missionary-traders periodically to send wagons to Cape Town, both for the purpose of conveying to that port the ivory they had bartered from the natives, and in order to obtain fresh supplies of trade goods. These wagons were entrusted to the care of the most experienced and reliable native servants that could be found. Between two of these men and Kok a dispute arose as to the remuneration due to them for their previous journey, and it seems as though Kok refused what they demanded. At all events, the disappointed men lay in wait for Kok when he was proceeding to inspect his flock, and shot him dead. The murderers were seized and carried before Molehabangue, who sentenced them to death, and decreed that the sentence should be carried out by the widow of the murdered man. This Mrs. Kok naturally declined to do, and the execution took place in the ordinary Bechuana manner, while the chief hastened to send messengers to Griquatown to relate the whole sad tale.

During the period of the residence of Edwards and Kok among the Bechuana, the Hollanders Van der Lingen and Janssen, together with another colleague, Willem Koster, were despatched to the Kuruman River to strengthen and extend the mission. But when the new-comers saw the nature of the work which Edwards and Kok were bravely attempting, and realised the dangers which beset a residence in that remote district, their courage failed them and they turned back. Van der Lingen, indeed, was physically unfit for the privations of a missionary's life. Janssen, as we have seen, joined the brethren at Klaarwater, and there did excellent work; but Koster, who was of a hasty and imperious temperament, rendered himself generally obnoxious, and soon disappears from the missionary records. The attempt to strengthen the Bechuana mission was a complete failure.

THE NAMAQUA MISSION.

At the commencement of 1805 Kicherer, on his return from a visit to Holland, brought with him a fresh contingent of six missionaries, who were being sent out by the Rotterdam Society.

Of this band the most remarkable were the brothers Christiaan and Abraham Albrecht and Johannes Seidenfaden. It was decided to despatch these three to the Namaqua tribes who lived in the vicinity of, and beyond, the Orange River. The Directors of the South African Society had hoped to commence a work among the Hottentots living at the Kamiesbergen under the chieftainship of Cornelis Kok, but events had transpired which prevented the realisation of this plan. In consequence of the friction which had arisen between Dr. van der Kemp and the Government, the latter had prohibited the establishment of more missionary stations, or "institutions" as they were called, within the limits of the Colony. By a proclamation issued in this same year (1805), Governor Janssens defined the northern boundary in such a manner as to cause the Kamiesbergen to fall just within it.¹ The three brethren were therefore compelled to leave Kok's tribe behind, and to travel still farther into the dreary wastes of Namaqualand, in order to find a suitable spot for the establishment of their mission.

Their journey was an exceedingly trying one, and only men of the truest devotion and the most undaunted courage could have successfully accomplished it. But the Albrechts and Seidenfaden were built in a heroic mould. They were poorly supplied with provisions for their arduous journey; their oxen were weak and insufficient in number for the strain of drawing the wagons across barren and sandy deserts; they suffered the tortures of thirst, as the only water which they could obtain was brackish and nauseous; and they were in constant danger of being attacked by beasts of prey, or of falling victims to the poisoned arrows of Bushmen murderers. But the spirit which animated them amid all these difficulties and privations is evidenced by the letter which they directed to the Society at Cape Town, and which ran as follows:—

DEAR BRETHREN,—We have gone through many difficulties of which no one can form any idea who has not been in a dry and barren desert. We were not merely separated from our friends, but could get no assistance from any human being. If we had not been able to believe that it was the will of the Lord that we should go to the Great Namaquas, we

¹ The boundary followed the course of the Buffels River to its source, and thence along the mountains to the junction of the Riet and Zak Rivers. See Theal's "Hist. since 1795," Vol. I, p. 127. The proclamation is given in the Appendix, Note F.

CHAP. XIII. could not have gone through such fatigue and labour. It was likewise painful for us to observe that even those who are said to have assisted us, have made our journey so difficult by not properly providing for us.

The reproach which the last words contain was not wholly unmerited. The Directors of the Society in London could never quite free themselves, at that stage of the work, from the mistaken idea that the mission must straightway become self-supporting. Small as was the allowance which they made to the early missionaries, they imagined that even that little might be withdrawn so soon as the mission to any field was fairly launched. This delusion the missionaries tried hard to dispel. In 1808 they wrote :—

You express a hope that we may soon be able to provide for our own subsistence ; but we beg leave to state that there is no immediate prospect of it. Much as we study economy, experience teaches us that the needful provision for each person will amount to no less than 300 Dutch florins (£22. 10s.) annually. Yet should it please God to preserve our cattle from misfortunes, we hope in time to acquire so much as to be able to provide for our own support.

Obsessed by this policy of economy and self-support the London Directorate continued to urge the evacuation of the Great Namaqualand field, and the withdrawal of the missionaries to the Kamiesbergen ; but for several years the consent of the Government could not be obtained to a settlement so far south.

To return to the experiences of the pioneers. After a journey of seven months they reached the Orange River, and established a temporary station which they called *Stille Hoop* (Silent Hope) at the junction of the Hartebeest River with the Orange, — a place where to-day stands the Kakamas Labour Colony of the Dutch Reformed Church. From this base of operations they sent Christiaan Albrecht on an exploratory tour to Great Namaqualand. The report which he brought back could not have been a very rosy one. There is no portion of South Africa which, in its normal condition, is so utterly arid and barren as Great Namaqualand. Regular rainy seasons there are none. Occasional thunder-storms pass over the country, and then in an astonishingly brief space the desert will rejoice and blossom as the rose. Unless, however, subsequent showers descend, herbage and flowers will soon

disappear before the rays of a pitiless sun, and the earth resume its old parched and melancholy appearance. "Sir," said one of the inhabitants to a missionary, "you will find in this country plenty of sand and stones, and a thinly scattered population, that always suffers from want of water, and lives under the scorching rays of a cloudless sun on plains and hills roasted like a burnt loaf."

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The Namaquas who inhabit these wastes belong to the Hottentot race, and are to-day the purest representatives of that race still living. Albrecht described them in 1806 as follows:—

The whole nation is divided into different tribes, each of them distinguished by a particular name and governed by a chief. Their usual food is milk and meat; but some of them, who are so poor as to have no cattle at all, are obliged to live on the gum which they gather from the *kameeldoorn* (a mimosa), and on bulbs, roots and wild honey. They hunt the smaller species of buck, and kill them with arrows or assegais; but the larger game they sometimes catch in holes, which they dig near the wells of fresh water. For clothing they make use of *karosses*, made of sheepskins. In summer these are thrown aside and the men go quite naked, except for a small piece of jackal's skin. The women are clothed with *karosses* like the men; but also throw them off in summer, and wear only a small apron of skin. Their social pleasures consist almost exclusively in dancing. Only the men are performers at the dancing party, and the exercise consists chiefly in jumping and violently shaking the body to the time of music made by whistles, which are cut out of reeds. The men employ themselves in caring for the cattle and in hunting; the women in milking the cattle.

In 1807 the missionaries are found at Warm Bath in Great Namaqualand, where they strenuously endeavoured to acquire influence over the natives, and to found the mission upon a secure foundation. By the close of the next year the numbers settled at the station amounted to 700. In the meantime Abraham Albrecht had journeyed to Cape Town for a brief visit, whence he returned with his bride, who had been Miss Catharina Schültz.

Seidenfaden now obtained leave, the civil authorities having graciously signified their acquiescence, to establish a mission at Cornelis Kok's on the Kamiesbergen, and Tromp was despatched to him as colleague. The Albrechts continued to toil on undiscouraged at Warm Bath, until in 1810 Abraham Albrecht succumbed to the subtle attacks of consumption, and died at the farm of Botma, at the Honingberg (near Porter-

CHAP. ville). Christiaan Albrecht married in the same year a Cape XIII. Town lady, Miss Burgman, to whom he had for some time been engaged, but after less than two years of faithful work, this intelligent and estimable lady also breathed her last at Kok's kraal.

Before the fortunes which befell the Warm Bath mission can be further described, something must be told of the history of a clan of half-breed Hottentots, the Afrikaners. The descendants of Hottentots who had roamed over the veld between Table Bay and the Berg River, they had been compelled to retreat ever farther northwards before the advance of the white colonists. Gradually, too, they had become impoverished, and at the close of the eighteenth century were glad to act as herdsmen and general servants to the farmers. Jager Afrikaner had thus entered the service of Field-cornet Pienaar, and had been employed by the latter in commandoes against the Bushmen. On a certain day a dispute arose between Jager and his employer with reference to wages. The Hottentot was impertinent, whereupon Pienaar, who was a man of a fierce temper, knocked him down. Jager's brother Titus, who was standing near with a loaded musket, then fired at Pienaar, wounding him mortally. Jager and Titus immediately gathered together the other members of their clan, and fled precipitately, heading for the forest fastnesses of the Orange River. And thus the Afrikaners embarked on their career of depredation and marauding, which made their name a terror to the farmers living on the northern colonial border, and to the tribes dwelling along the course of the Orange River. From his island stronghold Jager Afrikaner continued to raid the country in every direction, and no one, whether white, native or half-breed, was secure from his attacks, while those who ventured to resist paid for their temerity with their lives.

The Government naturally declared Jager an outlaw, set a price upon his head, and sent a commando to effect his capture, but no effort succeeded in dislodging him from his retreat. As Jager was an intelligent man, he attempted from time to time to secure a truce with the authorities at Cape Town, but his hands were so deeply dyed with blood, that the Government could not think of negotiating. The marauder therefore continued his career of crime, luring unfortunate Korannas or

Namaquas to his island abode, treacherously seizing them, and then cutting out their tongues and maiming, or killing them outright.

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During the earlier years of the Namaqua mission, Jager Afrikaner had borne himself somewhat quietly, and had restrained from raiding the colonial border. In 1811, however, he was provoked by an act of deceit perpetrated upon him by one Hans Dreyer, a Hottentot, whom in retaliation he killed; and not content with that, he attacked and robbed Seidenfaden's station at the Kamiesbergen at which Hans resided. A feud was thus engendered between the relatives of the murdered Hans and Jager. The former called to their assistance the Namaquas of Warm Bath. The missionaries were away at Cape Town; the community at Warm Bath had no wise counsellors at hand, and they unfortunately decided to cast in their lot with the Kamiesbergen people, and to defy Jager and his band. This so enraged the freebooter that he launched his force against the Namaquas, defeated them, and reduced the mission-station to a heap of ashes. When, at the end of 1811, Christiaan Albrecht would have returned to Warm Bath, he learnt that the whole village was burnt to the ground, and his home laid in ruins. With a heavy heart he then moved on to Pella,¹ a few miles south of the Orange River, where a new station was established, at which the remnants of the people of Warm Bath were collected. So disastrously ended the attempt to open mission operations in Great Namaqualand.

It was during this time of discouragement and anxiety that news reached Albrecht of the arrival of a reinforcement of missionaries, four of whom were destined to be his colleagues. They were the brethren Sass, Helm, Schmelen and Ebner, the latter having married the widow of Abraham Albrecht. When Campbell visited the London Missionary Society's stations in 1813 he found that Sass had taken Seidenfaden's place at Kamiesbergen (Seidenfaden himself having proceeded to the Zuurbraak station, near Swellendam), and that the other missionaries were all congregated at Pella. Of these he remarks: "The missionaries appeared to be worthy men; and

¹ So called from Pella in Palestine, which was the refuge of the Christians during the period of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus (A.D. 70).

CHAP. from the extreme barrenness of the soil, the universal sand with
 XIII. which the country is covered, its nakedness, together with the
 great heat, they have to endure greater hardships than any of
 the other brethren in South Africa ”.¹

With the year 1813, when the Directors of the London mission thought it necessary to send out the Rev. John Campbell on a prolonged tour of inspection to the stations in South Africa, the pioneer stage may be considered as having come to an end. It had been a time of difficulty and trial. The men sent out by the Directors did not in many cases possess the necessary mental equipment and moral stamina. As was the case in the South Sea missions, so in South Africa also, many men were accepted as missionaries who had enjoyed no previous theological training, and possessed hardly any qualifications for mission work. In 1802, for example, the South African Society, acting on instructions from the Directorate in London, purchased the discharge of a soldier named Irwin, belonging to one of the Cape regiments, and appointed him as assistant to Dr. van der Kemp. On the voyage to Algoa Bay, however, Irwin was drowned. The lack of education and refinement on the part of some of these early missionaries is also apparent from the facility with which they contracted alliances with natives or half-breeds. Following the unfortunate example of Van der Kemp, other missionaries like Read, Janssen, and at a later stage Schmelen, married Hottentot wives—by which action they at once put themselves out of sympathy with, and in direct opposition to, the Dutch colonists, to whom such matrimonial alliances were to the last degree distasteful. To the defective training and low social status of some of the London missionaries were due not a few of the troubles which during the first and second decades of the nineteenth century convulsed the Colony.²

On the whole, however, in spite of inferior workers and adverse circumstances, the work of these thirteen years had borne not a little permanent fruit. To say nothing of Bethelsdorp, the history of which has still to be told, a thoroughly successful work was being carried on at Klaarwater; three stations were established in Little Namaqualand, and a pioneer work

¹ Campbell: “Travels in Southern Africa,” p. 421.

² See also Lovett’s “Hist.,” I, pp. 534, 535.

had been commenced among the Bechuana. The indirect results, too, were significant. The Christians of Cape Town took a keener interest in mission enterprise among the natives beyond the border, and that interest impelled them to greater activity in the home field. The soldiers in the garrison, the visiting seamen, and the slaves in private homes, became in an increasing degree the objects of earnest and prayerful Christian work. Throughout the Colony the Dutch Churches had received a considerable spiritual stimulus. The demands for ministers to fill vacant charges, and for teachers to establish much-needed schools, daily increased in urgency. Not a few of the earliest missionaries sent out by the London and Rotterdam Societies ended their days as pastors of Dutch Reformed congregations. This was, naturally enough, deplored and resented by the societies, but it brought about also this salutary result, that the gulf between the pastor of the white and the pastor of the native congregation was lessened, and a kindlier feeling created in the mind of the Dutch farmer towards the missionary from abroad.

CHAPTER XIV.

VAN DER KEMP AND THE BETHELSDORP MISSION.

Take such propositions as these: there are differences in the capacity of men for serving the community; the well-being of the community demands the allotment of high function in proportion to high faculty; the rights of man in politics are confined to a right of the same protection for his own interests as is given to the interests of others. As against these principles, the revolutionary deductions from the equality of man are false.—JOHN MORLEY (“Rousseau”).

CHAP. WE must now retrace our steps to the year 1799, in order
XIV. to follow the fortunes of Van der Kemp and his companion Edmond. At Roodezand (now Tulbagh) they parted from their colleagues Kicherer and Edwards, and set forth on their journey eastward to the country of the Kafirs. They were received everywhere with great cordiality, and treated with that open-handed hospitality for which the South African farmer has always been famed. In the diaries of Van der Kemp and Edmond reference is continually made to the heartiness with which they were welcomed. Edmond says, with a slight touch of exaggeration:—

With reference to the kindness of the people at Cape Town, on our journey to Roodezand, and from there to this place, words fail me to adequately express it. While I write this tears flow from my eyes when I remember their affectionate care for us.

In Van der Kemp’s diary we are told how they were assisted on their way by Brink of Tijgerberg, who gave them the loan of two spans of oxen; by Du Plessis of Olifants Gebergte, who aided them with “eight horses, twelve oxen and two large dogs”; and by Field-cornet Jakobs, who presented them with fourteen oxen, the gift of the inhabitants of Verkeerde Vallei—and these tokens of sincere good-will were typical of many others. The colonists evinced everywhere an extraordinary eagerness to hear the Word of God preached,

and Van der Kemp held a number of gatherings for Divine worship. Edmond remarks in astonishment: "How many there are of the people of God, scattered here and there, when one remembers how few are the opportunities for instruction".

As evidence of the fact that there were earnest and pious people among the Dutch farmers, who took to heart the condition of the heathen and did not fail to pray for their conversion, it is worth reading what Van der Kemp records under the date 13 June, 1799:—

This morning we crossed the *Gamka*, which though very broad, was quite dry. We arrived at the house of Samuel de Beer, who, when he heard what the object of our journey was, received us with uncommon joy. He summoned his family and slaves, communicated to them the news, and fell upon his knees, saying: "O Lord, Thou has saddened me with inexpressible grief by taking from me my child, whom I buried to-day; but now Thou dost rejoice my soul with joy greater than my sadness, as Thou shonest me that my prayers for the salvation of the Kafirs have been heard, and Thou grantest me at this time to see how Thy promises are beginning to be fulfilled". He then addressed an admonition to his heathen servants, and sang some psalms and hymns which had reference to the calling of the Gentiles. . . . Mr. Le Vaillant visited this home, and he says much in praise of this worthy family, but he forgets the most beautiful trait in their lovable character, namely, that the fear of God dwells there.¹

A month after leaving Cape Town, Graaff Reinet was reached, and after a fortnight's rest, the missionaries set out for Kafirland. Their objective was the kraal of the Kafir chief, Gaika. The country, however, was in a very unsettled state; there were frequent encounters between Gaika and the border settlers; and the first attempt to penetrate to the chief's kraal ended in failure. A few weeks subsequently another attempt was made. A doubtful peace had in the meantime been patched up with Gaika, and Van der Kemp considered the time propitious for another effort to reach the Kafirs. This view of the matter was not shared by Edmond, who nevertheless deferred to the wishes of his more determined colleague. In September, 1799, they finally reached the chief's residence on the Chumie River. Before the end of the year, Edmond, who had proved, as Van der Kemp himself says, a faithful and worthy companion, left him and returned to the Cape, in order to proceed to Bengal.

¹"Gedenkschriften: Dagregister van Van der Kemp," pp. 26, 27.

Van der Kemp found at Gaika's kraal several renegade farmers and soldiers. One of the former, named Coenraad Buys, attained to considerable notoriety in Cape history. He was a man of great bodily strength and some little mental ability, and had in consequence acquired a position of influence with Gaika. Buys acted as intermediary between the chief and Van der Kemp, and did not fail to warn the latter of the danger to which he was exposed, and of the unwisdom of attempting to establish a mission among Gaika's people when the tribe was at war with the colonial authorities. The chief himself viewed Van der Kemp's arrival with suspicion, and only after a prolonged period of hesitation did he grant a grudging consent to the latter's settling himself at the Debe River. Van der Kemp found all opportunities denied him for commencing a work among the Kafirs, and was compelled eventually to turn his attention to the Hottentots. He succeeded in gathering a little circle of five women and thirteen children—eighteen in all—whom he instructed in the elementary truths of Christianity, and in the Dutch and Kafir languages. However, the dangers by which he was surrounded, and the consequent strain and anxiety, were such that he decided to leave the country with a number of colonists who also felt their lives to be no longer secure in Gaika's domain. On the last day of the year 1800 he finally left Kafirland, and after wandering for several months with the colonists, reached Graaff Reinet in May of 1801. The first attempt to evangelise the Kafirs thus proved wholly abortive.

At Graaff Reinet Van der Kemp found two new arrivals, who had been sent to assist him in his labours among the Kafirs. They were the missionaries Read and Van der Lingen, and had been selected by lot—such was the curious custom of the time—from among the latest arrivals from England and Holland. The Dutch congregation at Graaff Reinet petitioned Van der Kemp to become their minister, but he held firmly to his determination to labour as a missionary among natives, and eventually the matter was compromised by the temporary appointment of Van der Lingen to the vacant charge.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle the threads of missionary history and political history during the next few months. For one or two years previously the burghers of

Graaff Reinet had been in a state of disaffection and incipient rebellion. These frontiersmen had suffered terrible losses through the incursions of hordes of Kafirs, and the incapacity of the Government to effectively punish the marauders and restore order. They had taken great offence at the enlistment of Hottentots to form a troop of pandours, and declared that they stood in as much dread of these Hottentot mercenaries, who were supposed to protect them, as of their enemies, the savage Kafirs, themselves. Nor were their fears without foundation. Those Hottentots who had been serving on farms in the Graaff Reinet district presently seized the arms and ammunition of their masters, and joined the pandour regiment. The English general, however, thought it prudent to disarm them, whereupon they fled eastwards and joined the marauding Kafir bands. Kafirs and Hottentots now combined to pillage the whole frontier, and by the end of July, 1800, twenty-nine white people had lost their lives, almost every homestead east of the Gamtoos River had been destroyed, and all the live-stock had fallen into the hands of the invaders, who were practically masters of the situation.

For all these evils the burghers—somewhat unjustly, no doubt—blamed the British Government. It was, however, the Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, Maynier, towards whom they evinced the greatest antipathy. This official seems to have been an able man, with a strong feeling of contempt for the somewhat unruly men he had to deal with. One act of his particularly exasperated the burghers. The original church at Graaff Reinet had been destroyed by fire, and they had at infinite pains and amid all the troubles of that troublous time put up another edifice, and consecrated it to the worship of God. This building the military officer, with the concurrence of Landdrost Maynier, had commandeered to quarter his Hottentot pandours in. The act of sacrilege (for as such it was regarded) was too much for the burghers, already irritated to the verge of rebellion, to bear. They rose in arms, marched upon Graaff Reinet, and closely invested the residence of the landdrost. It was only by the recall of the obnoxious Maynier, and through the conciliatory policy followed by General Dundas, that bloodshed was avoided.

Such being the state of affairs we can understand that not

CHAP. XIV. only the burghers, but the civil authorities also viewed the attitude of Dr. van der Kemp and his colleagues with profound suspicion. The Government had not looked favourably upon his mission to the Kafirs in the previous year, and Governor Sir George Yonge had gone so far as to pen a despatch to the Secretary of State in which the following words occur :—

I have undoubted intelligence that Vanderkemp, who has been making excuses for not leaving Guyka, tho' repeatedly required, has been propagating not Christianity, but the very [political] Principles above stated, and is at this moment the confidential Friend and Companion at Guykas of the fugitive rebel Conrad de Buys. . . . They are inseparable, live and lodge together at Guykas, and there is every reason to think De Buys is very far from being converted or discouraged by his new friend and companion.¹

It is much to be doubted whether the inference which Sir George Yonge drew from the fact of Van der Kemp's residence with Buys, is valid ; but the extract quoted is of importance as showing what suspicion was engendered in the mind of both the Government and the burghers, by Van der Kemp's prolonged sojourn with Gaika in those times of disturbance. That Van der Kemp acted in many instances hastily, arbitrarily and without good judgment, can hardly be denied ; but as little can it be doubted that his motives were as pure as his piety was unquestioned.

Meanwhile Van der Kemp and Read had commenced to labour among the Hottentots at Graaff Reinet, and by September of 1801 they had gathered sixty-two children in their school. The Government now took in hand the momentous question of dealing with the Hottentots who were still roaming the country to the disturbance of law and order. It was decided to select a suitable site where a mission settlement or "institution" could be established, and to invite Dr. van der Kemp to take charge. A farm on the Zwartkops River, near the present Port Elizabeth, belonging to one Botha, was chosen, and thither in March, 1802, Van der Kemp removed, followed by several hundred of his Graaff Reinet congregation. At Botha's farm, however, many trials awaited them. Disease attacked the Hottentots, Van der Kemp was for several months the victim of severe rheumatic fever, and, to crown all, the

¹ "Records of Cape Colony," III, p. 340.

predatory Hottentots who lived on the banks of the Sunday River fell upon them, and, by their repeated assaults, obliged the members of the settlement to withdraw for protection to Fort Frederick (Algoa Bay). Here they remained for several months, until the Government finally, by deed of grant, made over to them a farm, 6,700 morgen in extent, which was subsequently known as Bethelsdorp.

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While these events were transpiring, the Peace of Amiens had been concluded, by virtue of which "the Cape of Good Hope remained in full sovereignty to the Batavian Republic, as it was before the war". General Dundas was accordingly succeeded by Commissary-General de Mist and General Janssens, who assumed the reins of government in March, 1803. Janssens at once set out for the eastern border, and at Fort Frederick met Van der Kemp, whom he treated with the utmost kindness and deference. It was Janssens who confirmed the name Bethelsdorp, which Van der Kemp at his request gave to the new "institution". In the latter end of the year the Commissary-General himself made a prolonged tour of the country. He was accompanied on his travels by Dr. Henry Lichtenstein, the author, who has left us an interesting account of Van der Kemp and the Bethelsdorp station:—

In the very hottest part of the morning we saw a wagon, such as is used in husbandry, drawn by four meagre oxen, coming slowly across the sandy downs. Van der Kemp sat upon a plank laid across it, without a hat, his venerable bald head exposed to the burning rays of the sun. He was dressed in a threadbare black coat, waistcoat and breeches, without shirt, neckcloth or stockings, and leather sandals bound upon his feet, the same as are worn by the Hottentots. The Commissary-General hastened to meet and to receive him with the utmost kindness: he descended from his car, and approached with slow and measured steps, presenting to our view a tall, meagre, yet venerable figure. In his serene countenance might be traced remains of former beauty, and in his eye, still full of fire, were plainly to be discerned the powers of mind which had distinguished his early years. Instead of the usual salutations, he uttered a short prayer, in which he begged a blessing upon our chief and his company, and the protection of heaven during the remainder of our journey. He then accompanied us into the house, when he entered into conversation freely upon many subjects, without any superciliousness or affected solemnity.¹

Lichtenstein's account of the condition in which they found Bethelsdorp is unfavourable in the extreme:—

¹ Lichtenstein: "Travels," I, p. 237.

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XIV. It is scarcely possible to describe the wretched situation in which this establishment appeared to us, especially after having seen that at Baviaans Kloof. On a wide plain without a tree, almost without water fit to drink, are scattered forty or fifty little huts in the form of hemispheres, but so low that a man cannot stand upright in them. In the midst is a small clay hut thatched with straw, which goes by the name of a church, and close by are some smaller huts of the same materials for the missionaries. All are so wretchedly built, and are kept with so little care and attention, that they have a perfectly ruinous appearance. For a great way round not a bush is to be seen, for what there might have been originally has long been used for firewood. The ground all about is perfectly naked and hard trodden down; nowhere the least trace of human industry. Wherever the eye is cast nothing is presented but lean, ragged or naked figures, with indolent sleepy countenances. . . . It does appear extraordinary that Van der Kemp had never turned his thoughts seriously to instilling habits of industry into his disciples; but all idea of their temporary welfare appears with him to be wholly lost in his anxiety for their eternal salvation. His own hut is totally destitute of all comfort, even of any approach to neatness, and is perfectly consistent with the negligence of earthly cares which he preaches. He remarked, not without great self-satisfaction, how little was necessary to the support of life; but he would surely have done much better when he drew these Hottentots around him, to have inspired them with some sort of taste for the refinements of civilisation, rather than to have levelled himself with them, and adopted their habits of negligence and filth.¹

The principles according to which Van der Kemp governed the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp were not, indeed, such as recommended themselves to either the Batavian or the English Governments. Penetrated as he was with the doctrine that the Hottentots were free men, with all the rights and privileges of free citizens, he refused to use compulsion in his dealings with them. The children might attend school or not, as they pleased; truancy was visited with no subsequent punishment. No male Hottentot was obliged to engage in any useful employment; he was discouraged from proceeding to neighbouring farms and entering the service of the burghers; and, at a later stage, Van der Kemp positively refused to send to the neighbouring town of Uitenhage such Hottentots as the magistrate desired to employ on public works.² Views and actions like these were, of course, highly repugnant to the Government, as well as to the surrounding farmers, and

¹ Op. cit., I, 238-39.

² Philip: "Researches in South Africa," I, p. 125; and Lovett's "History," I, p. 509.

Bethelsdorp was looked upon by them as a hotbed of indolence and vice. Indeed, Van der Kemp's unwise utterances, and the stubborn attitude which he assumed towards the Government, led General Janssens to summon him and Read to Cape Town, where they were detained for several months, until the Cape was re-conquered by the English, and General Baird permitted them to return to Bethelsdorp.

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The new administrator was well-disposed towards Van der Kemp and his work, but at the same time able to gauge his character and estimate his views correctly. In the instructions issued to the magistrate of Uitenhage he says:—

The Rev. Mr. van der Kemp and his Society of Christian Hottentots are particularly recommended to your protection; you will upon all occasions give this venerable and good man every assistance in your power. You must, however, listen to his accounts of the ill-treatment of the Hottentots and the cruelties of the Boers with precaution. An enthusiast in his mission, he must occasionally see things in a stronger point of view than they are in reality. With proper management, however, much information may be derived from his zeal, and above all his authority and influence with the Hottentots.¹

It may be worth while inquiring how Van der Kemp came to have those ideas of independence and non-compulsion which he so persistently advocated. Much, of course, must be set down to his peculiar temperament and character. That Van der Kemp was an eccentric man is admitted by his warmest admirers. Even when residing at Gaika's kraal he habitually discarded hat, shoes and stockings, and frequently returned from some journey to a distant Kafir village with feet all lacerated and bleeding. But something beyond natural eccentricity is necessary to account for his extreme views. There was considerable method in Van der Kemp's madness. We must remember that, according to his own account, he was a convinced deist during the years which preceded his conversion. It cannot be doubted that he was profoundly influenced, at that period of his mental history, by the writings of Rousseau. Van der Kemp was just 30 years of age when Rousseau died, and must therefore have assimilated many of the distinctive beliefs of the man who, to a greater extent than any other, dominated French thought during the middle of the eighteenth

¹ "Records," V, pp. 338, 339.

CHAP. century. In his "Discourse on the Origin of Inequality,"
XIV. Rousseau maintains that the life of the savage is the simplest
and most perfect, that civilised communities are all degenerate,
wealth a crime, government nought but tyranny, and social
laws unjust. Doctrines such as these must have persisted in
Van der Kemp's mind even after he became a Christian, and
could not fail to influence his conception of the policy to be
pursued towards his Hottentot converts at Bethelsdorp.¹

It must be confessed that Van der Kemp had the courage
of his convictions. To the Hottentots he became as a Hottentot,
in the most literal sense of the words. He adopted their dress,
ate their food, lived in their huts (his own abode being only
eight feet square), and finally married a "woman of Madagascar
extraction"—so he himself states in a letter to the Colonial
Secretary—the 17-year-old daughter of a slave woman. He so impressed his own views upon his colleague Read, who
seems to have been a worthy, though not very literate man,
that the latter also contracted a matrimonial alliance with a
Hottentot girl, who had been baptised but a few days previous
to the marriage. A century of Christian missions in South
Africa has since proved the fallacy of the opinions held by
Van der Kemp as to the superiority of the savage state and the
natural equality of all men. No responsible missionary to-day
would venture to preach or to practise the doctrine of social
equality between the white and the coloured races, or to plead
for intermarriage between European and native. But during
the first quarter of the nineteenth century the doctrines of the
school of English philanthropists attained their greatest vogue,
and of that school Van der Kemp was the South African
prophet.

¹ See further J. W. G. Van Oordt's "Slagtersnek," pp. 43 seqq., to which
the present writer acknowledges his indebtedness.

CHAPTER XV.

FURTHER HISTORY OF THE BETHELSDORP MISSION.

Not mine alone the task to speak
Of comfort to the poor and weak,
And dry the tear on Sorrow's cheek;

But, mingled in the conflict warm,
To pour the fiery breath of storm
Through the harsh trumpet of Reform.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

DURING the absence at Cape Town of Van der Kemp and Read, the work at the Bethelsdorp institution was directed by J. G. Ulbricht and S. Tromp. These two workers were greatly assisted by a remarkable woman, of whom mention was made in a former chapter—"Mother" Smith. Her maiden name was Mathilde Combrink. She was brought up in a Christian atmosphere, and at an early stage developed a taste for serious studies. She was twice married, but both husbands and all her children preceded her to the grave, and she found herself, at a comparatively early age, a childless widow. Under the ministry of the devoted Helperus Ritzema van Lier she had been converted, and thenceforth her one purpose was to promote, by every means in her power, the interests of the Divine Kingdom. She laboured among the soldiers and the slaves in Cape Town, and thereafter, for a prolonged period, among the heathen at Roodezand (Tulbagh). It was towards the end of 1805 that she undertook the arduous journey to Bethelsdorp, in order to render such assistance as she could during the absence of the recognised heads of that mission.

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Mrs. Smith was accompanied on this journey by her niece, who gives us the following account of her aunt's work at Bethelsdorp:—

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 XV. at Bethelsdorp. Having taken some short time for rest and refreshment, and being settled in our new abode, my aunt informed the Hottentots that she intended, with the Divine permission and assistance, to commence a school in order to teach knitting, etc., to every female who was willing to receive regular daily instruction. Four children almost immediately applied for tuition, and she began upon the plan proposed ; the number of scholars soon increased to sixteen, several women attending of their own accord. These scholars were at first placed under my guidance. When they had learned the stitch, my aunt took great pains to advance them in the art of knitting, shaping stockings, night-caps, gloves, etc. For the first twelve months she purchased the requisite cotton and thread from her own purse.

Meanwhile she found that the labour of instruction was much increased by the unsettled habits and occupations of the Hottentots. No sooner, for instance, were the girls under her charge beginning to improve, than their parents would probably engage themselves in the service of some distant farmer ; in which case their children must either accompany them, or remain wholly destitute. To remedy this evil and to prevent its further recurrence, my aunt procured at her own expense corn, meat, peas, beans, pumpkins,—in a word, every kind of necessary food for the maintenance of her scholars ; until by the sale of their various pieces of work to farmers, military men and others, sufficient money was collected to purchase a few cows ; and thus, after the first year had elapsed, they began to support themselves.¹

For upwards of two years Mrs. Smith continued her labours at Bethelsdorp, after which she returned to Cape Town. Here she resumed her position as centre of an extensive circle of philanthropic and charitable work. Thirteen years later this godly handmaid of the Lord's passed to her reward—full of years, full of honour, full of good works. She was laid to rest in the Dutch Reformed Cemetery in Somerset Road.

The missionary force at Bethelsdorp had in the meantime been augmented by several new arrivals—Erasmus Smit, Michael Wimmer and Carl Pacalt. The Board in London were still endeavouring to direct the work in South Africa through the agency of the South African Missionary Society. The Directorate of the latter Society issued annual reports of the work under their control or supervision. Of the Bethelsdorp work they could ascertain very little, for Van der Kemp seems to have ignored them, and to have acknowledged only his direct responsibility to the London Board. Van der Kemp

¹ “ Memoir of Mrs. Matilda Smith,” pp. 122, 123.

apparently considered them to be lacking in missionary zeal and enterprise, and reproached them in heated language. "Sell," he said, "your unchristian meeting-house ('bedehuis'), and devote the proceeds to the heathen, whom you have defrauded." No wonder that the South African Directors mournfully report to the London Board: "Concerning the brethren at Bethelsdrop we can impart you no information, for Brother van der Kemp who has for a long time been prejudiced against our Society, seems to concern himself very little about us, and, by reason of his fault-finding nature, has made no scruples about expressing himself towards us in the most hateful and unpleasant language".¹

With the year 1809 we enter upon a very difficult and tumultuous period in the history of the Bethelsdorp mission. The differences between the Government and the colonists on the one side and the Bethelsdorp missionaries on the other, with reference to the position and treatment of the Hottentots, had been growing gradually more and more acute. Governor the Earl of Caledon deemed it necessary in 1809 to introduce new regulations for determining the status of the Hottentots. The old tribal system had long since passed away, and no Hottentot would acknowledge or submit to the authority of anyone of his own race. By that method justice could not be administered, since chieftainship no longer existed among the Hottentots, and the Governor was accordingly driven to devise some other expedient. The new regulations ordained that every Hottentot should have some fixed abode, that contracts for service between Hottentot and farmer should be made before the duly constituted civil authority, and that every Hottentot moving from place to place should be provided with a certificate or pass. These regulations were, of course, in direct antagonism to the principles which Van der Kemp had enunciated, and according to which Bethelsdorp was governed.

But the missionaries had other, and far more serious, complaints to urge against Government and colonists. Mr. Read wrote, on 30 August, 1808, a letter to the Directors of the Society, which the latter caused to be published in the twentieth

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¹ Letter of 10 Dec., 1806 (Archives of South African Missionary Society).

CHAP. number of their "Transactions," and which was destined to have
 XV. far-reaching results for the Society itself, for the Cape Colony, and for the future of mission work in South Africa. The letter contained, primarily, certain charges against Cape farmers for acts of barbarity committed on Hottentots, and, secondarily, an indictment against the Government for maladministration of justice. The officer who was chiefly affected by the latter charge was Major Cuyler, the landdrost (or magistrate) of Uitenhage. Major Cuyler, who belonged to an eminent Dutch family of New York, was justly indignant at the accusation of partiality levelled against him, which he conceived to be wholly false and undeserved, and he therefore demanded that the charges should be thoroughly investigated.

In the letter originally written by Read two cases of barbarity were mentioned. One of these referred to a Hottentot girl named Catrijn, who, according to Read's account, had been severely flogged on her bare body, and then "pickled,"—by which was meant that her raw wounds had been rubbed with salt. The other case was that of one Ourson, who when on a journey, had been murdered (so the story ran) by Boers, together with his wife and infant child. Earl Caledon referred the letter to Landdrost Cuyler, directing him "to summon Mr. Read before him, and take from him the fullest information on oath touching the matter alluded to in his letter". This Cuyler did, taking down the depositions of Read and of a number of other persons concerned in the crimes alleged to have been committed. At the same time Read added several fresh instances to his list of charges, and in a letter to Earl Caledon¹ declared his willingness to proceed to Cape Town for a personal interview with the Governor.

The fresh accusations raised by Read provoked widespread indignation among the colonists of the eastern districts. The Governor, therefore, hastened to order a careful and impartial investigation, and entrusted this delicate work to the Circuit Commission, a tribunal which had been but recently erected for the better administration of justice in the country districts. This Commission consisted of two or more judges of the High Court, who made a periodical tour through the Colony, trying

¹ Quoted, but with important omissions, in Lovett's "History," I, pp. 510, 511. Full text in "Records," VIII, pp. 128 seq.

important cases at the chief town of each district. In 1812 two Commissions were appointed, to one of which, consisting of Judges Strubberg and Cloete, were assigned the districts of George, Graaff Reinet and Uitenhage, in which districts the atrocities were said to have been committed. With them went an eminent jurist and upright man, Mr. G. Beelaerts van Blokland, who had held important offices under both the Batavian and the English Governments, and who was now selected to act as special Crown Prosecutor in the cases which Read had brought to the notice of the Government. These gentlemen now proceeded on the judicial tour which has since been known as the "Black Circuit".

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The Circuit Commission consumed four months in the prosecution of its arduous duties. There were more than fifty distinct charges against colonists of murder, violence or injustice towards Hottentots. Almost all the white families on the border were implicated. No less than 1000 witnesses—European, native and Hottentot—were summoned. The whole countryside was in a state of ferment. The investigations were conducted with a due sense of the importance of the issues which depended upon them. Of one of these trials, in which the wife of an eminent burgher was concerned, Van Blokland says: "The prosecution was certainly one of the most weighty and important that was ever carried on before the Commission, probably before any court in this Colony. . . . Under these circumstances it was not surprising to see a more than ordinary concourse of hearers, and the public curiosity to see the veil removed from this interesting secret raised to the highest degree, so that the silent attention which was paid by all did not a little contribute to increase the solemnity of this trial." The results of the trials were these: of the seventeen individuals charged with murder, five were reserved for subsequent trial, one man was found guilty of assault, and the remaining eleven were acquitted. Of the nineteen charged with violence seven were convicted; and several of the actions for the recovery of wages were also successful. In the case of the girl Catrijn it was proved that she had received corporal chastisement, and that some wounds of no great severity had been caused; but at the trial she declared that she was still, of her own free will, serving the mistress who was said to have mal-

CHAP. XV. treated her. The case of Ourson was shown to have occurred nine or ten years previously, and the missionaries apparently withdrew it : at any rate, no further reference to Ourson appears in the published records of the trials.

Landdrost Cuyler came out of the ordeal without a stain upon his character. Sir John Cradock, who succeeded Earl Caledon as Governor, wrote of him : "I experience the greatest satisfaction in finding from universal testimony that the conduct of Major Cuyler of the Cape Corps, and Acting Landdrost of the district of Uitenhage, has been without reproach, and that the aspersions cast upon his character with so little consideration are entirely destitute of foundation".¹ In other respects, however, the "Black Circuit" left behind it a painful impression. It was many years before the irritation and anger which the colonists felt towards the missionaries died away. The latter were looked upon as the enemies of the white race in South Africa, and as men who did not scruple to believe any tale, however baseless, which was detrimental to the character of the Dutch farmers. Subsequent missionaries, it must be confessed, did little to remove or weaken this strong prejudice ; while many, by unwise and intemperate speech, contributed their share towards perpetuating the feeling of ill-will.

On the other hand, the missionaries, Messrs. van der Kemp and Read, acted up to their convictions. They honestly believed that the Hottentots were subjected to many barbarities, and holding, as they did, the doctrine of equality, we cannot wonder that they demanded justice for the race whose interests they had made their own. Nor can it be doubted that acts of injustice and even of violence were occasionally perpetrated against the Hottentots by the whites. This is proved by the cases tried before the "Black Circuit" in which convictions were obtained. It is also to be expected from a consideration of the conditions which at that time prevailed along the eastern frontier. Those districts had been but lately occupied and were still sparsely settled. For a number of years past the inhabitants had been embroiled in constant wars with the Kafirs. The unsettled, chequered life, and the frequent chance of seeing and sharing in actual fighting, drew many

¹ "Records," IX, p. 212.

turbulent spirits to throw in their lot with the inhabitants of the border. Among such people we must naturally expect to find individuals who would treat their servants with considerable harshness and severity. All these considerations, nevertheless, must not betray us into the error of regarding the exception as the rule, and exceptional certainly were the cases in which masters treated their servants with undue severity.¹

Our verdict on the whole question may perhaps be fittingly summed up in the words of Mr. J. A. Truter (afterwards Chief Justice Sir John Truter) who in a letter to Sir John Cradock expressed himself as follows :—

I never before, as Colonial Secretary under the Batavian Government, saw any list of ill-treatment or cruelties committed on Hottentots, but I well knew that two persons who had been guilty of such were relegated by General Janssens. . . . From the first taking possession of the Colony [by the English] to the present day all Government Orders and Proclamations have had an uninterrupted and unequivocal tendency to protect the natives of this Colony against oppression. Notwithstanding, it is a lamentable truth that the Hottentots were not always treated by the country people as the successive Governments have desired and prescribed. Want of civilisation, as well on the part of the Hottentots as on that of the farmers, added to the inclination of the former for a roving life, and the distance of the administrators of the laws by which the passions might be bridled, must be considered as the principal causes of the arbitrary conduct of the country people. . . . Also, the manner in which the institution at Bethelsdorp is conducted appears to me rather to impede than promote the good intentions of Government towards the civilisation as well of the farmers as of the Hottentots.²

Before the Circuit Commission of 1812 had commenced its inquiries, a great loss befell the London mission. This was the death of Dr. van der Kemp in December, 1811. At the instance of Earl Caledon he had proceeded with Read to Cape Town, there to confer with the Governor. But he had long been in failing health. Repeated strokes of apoplexy had greatly weakened him. The anxious times through which Bethelsdorp was passing could not but affect him detrimentally. He had cast his eyes eagerly upon Madagascar, and desired greatly to preach the Gospel on that island. It was, however, represented to him that to forsake the work before

¹ See Appendix, *Note G.*

² "Records," VIII, pp. 438, 439.

CHAP. the many charges advanced by himself and Read had been
XV. inquired into, would seem very much like a dereliction of duty. He was in great perplexity of mind. Suddenly he was stricken with fever, and lay down to rise no more. His faithful friend, "Mother" Smith, tended him to the last with affectionate care. "My dear friend, what is the state of your mind?" she asked him. Smilingly he replied: "All is well". "Is it light or darkness within?" "Light," was the answer: and so he passed through the dark flood.

Dr. van der Kemp was a man of whose deep piety and single-minded devotion to the mission cause no one can cherish the slightest doubt. In an age when the duty of the Church to evangelise the heathen was but imperfectly realised, he caught the vision of a dying world, and laid himself upon the altar for its salvation. He was one of the earliest men of talent and learning to offer himself to the London Society for mission work, and the impression made by his life of self-sacrificing effort on behalf of the natives was indelible. Van der Kemp had, on the other hand, many faults of character and temperament. He was of very studious habits and unpractical to a degree. Instead of striving to train his Bethelsdorp Hottentots to habits of thrift, he employed his leisure in writing "The Theodicy of St. Paul". He was impatient of restraint and contradiction; his manner and speech were often the reverse of conciliatory; and for the constituted authorities, whether ecclesiastical or civil, he had little regard. But in spite of these defects, Van der Kemp must always be looked upon as a great man, and one of the foremost of the great missionary band who from the days of George Schmidt to our own have endeavoured to establish the Kingdom of Christ in South Africa.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF DR. PHILIP.

There shall come, from out this noise of strife and groaning,
A broader and a juster brotherhood,
A deep equality of aim, postponing
All selfish seeking to the general good.

There shall come a time when each shall to another
Be as Christ would have him, brother unto brother.

LEWIS MORRIS.

AT the time of Van der Kemp's decease, the Board of the London Society, knowing nothing of his illness or death, took an important resolution which must be considered as marking out a new line of policy. Circumstances had arisen which made it increasingly difficult for the Board to govern from a distance of 6000 miles its rapidly expanding mission work in South Africa. Hitherto the Directors had made use of the South African Society as intermediary agency, but the employment of the latter was from the outset regarded as a temporary expedient. The arrangement soon failed to work smoothly. Van der Kemp, as we have seen, studiously ignored the Cape Town Board. The South African Directors were, indeed, worthy and cautious men, but though imbued with a measure of zeal, they lacked initiative. They were greatly hampered also by the express injunctions of the London Board to restrict expenses within the narrowest possible limits. And when, in 1803, the Cape was retroceded to Holland, which was ranged on the opposite side to England in the great European conflict, it became almost impossible for the London Board to sustain the old relations with the South African Society. The need had become urgent of having in South Africa a local superintendent, into whose hands could be committed the control of the Society's affairs. And so it happened that, almost at the very moment when

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CHAP. Van der Kemp breathed his last, the following resolution was
XVI. adopted :—

That the Rev. Dr. van der Kemp be appointed superintendent or inspector to the Society, or in the event of his decease or departure from the Colony, that Mr. James Read shall be appointed to that office ; and that he be empowered to take a general oversight of the affairs of every station, and to exercise, as a Director of the Society, and its representative at the Cape, such powers of control and influence as may appear requisite for the great object in view.¹

From this time the South African Missionary Society ceases to act as agent for the London Board.

In pursuance of this new policy of direct control, the London Directors sent out, in 1812, a commissioner, who was charged with the duties of visiting the various mission stations, selecting spheres in which new operations could be commenced, and reporting generally upon the condition and prospects of the mission. He was the Rev. John Campbell, minister of Kingsland Chapel, and one of the Society's Directors. His absence from England lasted from June, 1812, to May, 1814, and the journey which he undertook into the interior was one of the most interesting and remarkable in the annals of African travel. He started from Cape Town in February, 1813, the objective of the first portion of his journey being Bethelsdorp. Thence he proceeded to Grahamstown, the head-quarters of the military stationed in the Albany district, where he found the houses to be "built of mud and reeds". From Grahamstown he journeyed to Graaff Reinet, whence he directed his course to the unknown north on his way to Klaarwater. The latter place was reached, after an adventurous journey, in the month of June. Still travelling northward Campbell reached at length Lithako, the kraal of the Batlapi chief, Mothibi, of whose people he gave an interesting description in his subsequently published journal.²

He then returned to Klaarwater, from where he proceeded eastward through what is known as Bushmanland, visiting the mission stations at Pella and the Kamiesbergen. From there he turned southward, and on the last day of October reached Cape Town, after a toilsome journey of nine months. He was

¹ Resolution of 16 December, 1811; Lovett's "History," I, p. 517.

² "Travels in South Africa" (1815).

accompanied, from Bethelsdorp onward and back to Cape Town, by James Read.

Campbell was happily free from the strong prejudices which mark the utterances of so many missionaries of this early time. His descriptions of the country and people are kindly and sympathetic, though too much value must not be attached to what he recounts on hearsay evidence. In his criticisms of Bethelsdorp¹ and of Van der Kemp's views² he showed that he was able to form his own judgments. What most seriously detracts from the value of his book is the extraordinary vagaries which characterise his spelling of Dutch and native proper names. Unless the reader has some antecedent acquaintance with South African geographical and historical names, it is frequently quite impossible to identify the person or place to which reference is made. The most important result of Campbell's mission to South Africa was the vigorous prosecution of the work among the Bechuana,—the field which, in the providence of God, it was reserved for the London mission to occupy most effectively.

Read never seems to have exercised the offices of superintendent, though the resolution nominated him in the event of Van der Kemp's demise. After Campbell's return to England, the duties of superintendent came to devolve upon Rev. George Thom. Thom had been accepted as a missionary of the London Society and appointed to India. On his arrival at Cape Town, however, he was persuaded to remain in the Colony, and to give himself to work among the soldiers of the capital, and to general itineration. Especially through the fact of his residence in Cape Town, Thom soon came to be looked upon as the administrator of the Society's affairs, and its *de facto* superintendent.

Thom was a man of education and sound judgment. He at once detected the weak spot in the London mission, and inveighed in strong terms against the imperfect mental equipment and defective moral character of many of the workers who had been sent out. He condemned their intermarriage with Hottentots, and charged some of them with concubinage. For the work at Bethelsdorp he had little sympathy, as he considered

¹"Travels," pp. 96, 117 *seqq.*

²Ibid., pp. 129, 575.

CHAP. XVI. that station to be a nursery of indolence and filth. It was felt by the Board that these strictures could not be passed over in silence. A deputation was appointed to examine into the state of the Society's agencies at the Cape, and into the character of its missionaries. Mr. Campbell was invited to proceed on a second journey to South Africa, and as his associate was appointed a man who was to play a prominent part in the future history of missions at the Cape,—the Rev. John Philip,¹ of Aberdeen. From the report which these two men, after careful investigation, sent to the London Board, we extract the following paragraphs, which represent their conclusions as to the nature of the work of Van der Kemp and Read:—

When we consented to visit South Africa as your representatives, in order to set in order the affairs of your Missions, we were requested to give you a statement of facts. . . . Your labours in South Africa have certainly contributed much to elevate the character and condition of the Hottentots; but truth compels us to state that their improvement in civilisation has not been equal to what might have been expected from the means which have been employed for that purpose. This painful disappointment may, in a great measure, be traced to one source. Dr. van der Kemp was a man of learning, science and genius; but his mind delighted in philosophical abstractions, and his understanding was not sufficiently practical for the common-place duties of a missionary. The Doctor was, however, an honest man, and you respect him notwithstanding his errors, when it is known he lived to see, regret and confess them, although he found it too late to retrieve them.

He declared with much sorrow of heart, in the hearing of Mr. Ulbricht and a lady whom I have seen, that he began at the wrong end with the Hottentots; that he had spoiled them; that he would go on to Madagascar, or any other place; that he would never return to Bethelsdorp; and that they who came after him would have their hearts full of trouble. Had Read, the feeble successor of Van der Kemp, profited by the experience of his great predecessor, or had he possessed a portion of his candour, things might have been to-day in a different situation in South Africa from what they are.

While poor Read was writing home to Europe that the Bible and the plough must go together in South Africa, Dr. van der Kemp's books were lying rotting on the ground, in a corner of an old house that was overflowed with water by every shower of rain. The carpenter's tools and some valuable machinery sent to the Institution, were left to consume by their own rust; an English plough, the only one sent by the Society to Africa, was never used, and allowed to lie in the open square till it was

¹ About this time Philip received from an American University the honorary degree of D.D.

useless. The school was regarded with indifference, and the worst part of Dr. van der Kemp's system was continued.

When the state of things, when the mission was under Read's management, is compared with the letters he was in the habit of sending to England, we are not surprised that the Colonial Government, and intelligent persons who observed the contrast, were disgusted and offended. Read seems to be wholly destitute of prospective [perspective (?)] views, and to have studied nothing but what is called effect ; and it must be acknowledged that he had some skill in the use of this dangerous weapon. . . . A man may be excused for being a little sanguine, and expecting a great return where he had bestowed much labour ; but all the letters of Read that we have seen since our arrival in Africa, and other things of a similar complexion, show that he expected a crop where he had neither sown nor bestowed labour.¹

From the above extract it is clear that Thom's diagnosis of the situation was correct. It called for some drastic remedy. Read was for a time suspended, though he was subsequently reinstated and appointed to another charge. Philip was settled at Cape Town as superintendent, Thom having meanwhile severed his connection with the Society, in order to accept the pastorate of the Dutch Reformed congregation of Caledon. When Philip was entrusted with the direction of the Society's work, the stations in South Africa numbered thirteen, viz., Bethelsdorp (1802), Griqua Town (1802), Bethesda (1808), Zuurbraak (1811), Pacaltsdorp (1813), Theopolis (1814), Tooverberg (1814), Bethany, Afrikaners Kraal (1815), Kaffaria (1816), Hephzibah (1816), Lithako (1817), and Cape Town.²

The Rev. John Philip, D.D., who now assumed control in South Africa, filled so large a portion of the stage in the years immediately following, that it is necessary to have some particulars of his previous career. He was the son of a weaver of Kirkcaldy, and passed his earlier years at the loom. At the weavers' club to which he belonged he displayed considerable eloquence, and he was therefore sent to an academy in London, where he passed through a course of training for the Con-

¹ Moodie : " Specimens of Authentic Records," p. 22 (of the " Remarks "). Philip expresses himself to the same effect in a letter to the Colonial Secretary (" Records of C. C.," XII, p. 245).

² This list is derived from Lovett (I, p. 536) but corrected. Stellenbosch and Tulbagh were stations of the South African Missionary Society (local auxiliaries). *Tooverberg* (not Thornberg) is the present town of Colesberg, and signifies Mount of Witchcraft,

CHAP. XVI. gregational ministry. After a brief assistantship, he settled in Aberdeen, where he gathered a congregation to which he ministered for twelve years. It is said that his thoughts were directed to mission work by the challenging question of a man who asked whether he believed Acts iv. 12: "Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other Name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved". On Philip replying in the affirmative, the man rejoined: "Whoever believes that, ought to go to the ends of the earth to preach the Gospel".

Whatever the constraining motive may have been, Philip offered his services to the London Missionary Society Board, was accepted, sent out with Campbell, and finally appointed superintendent. At the time of his arrival in Cape Town he was in the prime of life, being 44 years of age; his constitution was robust, and enabled him to overtake all his multifarious duties without sensible fatigue; his intellect was keen, his mind alert, his energy absolutely tireless. It is difficult to arrive at a just and impartial estimate of his character. He lived for a prolonged period in the full glare of publicity, and hardly any other prominent South African has been so much belauded by some, and so severely censured by others. A summary of his character and influence must wait until we have viewed the extent and nature of his labours.

It was time for some consolidating influence to be set at work. The stations of the London mission were widely scattered over an immense area; hundreds of miles frequently separated even near neighbours; the means of communication were rare and irregular; and in practice each missionary did what was right in his own eyes. Philip introduced new and improved methods of work, established financial affairs upon a more satisfactory basis, and attempted a reform of the abuses which existed on some of the stations. In course of time the results of his efforts were apparent. Something like order and method were introduced at the various stations, and Bethelsdorp in particular made good progress, so that Thompson, the traveller, could testify in 1823 to the "striking improvement that had taken place in its external appearance"¹ since his

¹ Thompson; "*Travels and Adventures*," I, p. 23.

former visit three years previously. Through Philip's agency a Congregationalist chapel was also built in Cape Town, where for the long period of thirty years he continued to minister to a European congregation.

Philip had been but a few months in Cape Town when he addressed a letter to the Directors in which he painted in dark colours the state of the slaves in the capital. "There are at this moment," he said, "above 7000 slaves in Cape Town, and of that number there are not more than thirty-five or fifty at most under Christian instruction." This statement was published in a London magazine, but it was challenged in the "*Nederduitsch Zuid Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*,"¹ a periodical published in Cape Town, where it was proved that more than 600 slaves were under religious instruction by Rev. Beck and other Christian friends. This state of matters was not yet what it should be, but it was something better than the "thirty-five or fifty" which was the total of Philip's estimate. Moreover the writer in the "*Tijdschrift*" disproved the assertion made in the "*Philanthropic Gazette*" of June, 1820, to the effect that "There is no place of worship where they [the slaves] are admitted; and the Dutch inhabitants, even the ministers, oppose every attempt to alter this state of things". It was shown that the church of the South African Missionary Society, known as the "*Groote Oefenings Huis*," had been in use for nearly seventeen years,² that the Dutch clergy were not antagonistic, but sympathetic towards mission work, and that the inhabitants of Graaff Reinet, Tulbagh, Paarl, and Caledon, had followed the good example set by the Christians of Cape Town, and had commenced mission work among slaves and Hottentots, and in some cases had put up suitable churches.³

At an early period of his career Philip came into conflict with the civil authorities of the Cape. This was due in part to his restless spirit and incautious utterances, in part also to the conditions which then obtained in South Africa. Nominally, the Colony was under the control of the English Cabinet, and, in particular, of the Secretary of State for the Colonies; but in actual practice the Governor for the time being had a free hand to act as he saw fit. And when it chanced, as was the

¹"*N. Z. A. Tijdschrift*," Vol. I, p. 26.

² See above, p. 95.

³"*N. Z. A. Tijdschrift*," Vol. I, pp. 27-28.

CHAP. case with Lord Charles Henry Somerset, that the Governor
XVI. held strong views of his own as to how things should be done, and possessed the kind of temper that can brook no opposition, the inhabitants were often forced *either* to acquiesce, with a good grace or an ill, in the actions of the civil authorities, *or* to protest against courses of action which they deemed harmful, and where necessary to carry their protests to the bar of English public opinion. In this way the missionary was compelled to take part in politics, and Philip doubtless entered into them very deeply,—more deeply, perhaps, than was wise for himself, or profitable for the mission cause.

The first altercation with the “powers that be” arose over the condition of Bethelsdorp. In a letter written to the Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, on 28 April, 1821, Philip complained of the “deplorable conditions of the Hottentots,” and appealed to the Governor to “put an end to the present sufferings of the poor people, and prevent the recurrence of the evils under which they now groan”.¹ Certain specific instances were mentioned of the hardships to which Hottentots were subjected, of which the following were some of the chief :—

A water fiscal has lately been appointed at Uitenhage. This man, who is a Boer, has contracted with the local authorities of the place, to keep the water channels of the drostdy clear for a specific sum of money. To enable the water fiscal to live upon his contract, Hottentots are commanded from Bethelsdorp to serve him at two or three skellings [5d. or 7½d.] per day. This man, in addition to what he compels the Hottentots to do for him in the line of his trade, has lately built a commodious and substantial house² for himself, at which the poor Hottentots were compelled to work at the same low wages that they are compelled to serve him for in his official capacity as water fiscal.

In February last one Hottentot earned in ten days, by his wagon, 270 rix-dollars. It is a hard case that such a man should be taken from his family, and compelled to work for two skellings a day, while his wagon and his oxen are unemployed.³

These cases along with the others cited in Philip’s communication were examined into by Sir Rufane Donkin person-

¹ Moodie: “Specimens,” p. 12 of “Remarks”.

² In Philip’s “Researches,” I, p. 312, this statement is modified by the introduction of the words “*the walls of*”; but the above is the text of the original letter. See Moodie, op. cit., p. 13.

³ In Philip’s “Researches,” I, 314, a different version is given; but the above is the original form: see Moodie, op. cit., p. 12.

ally on his visit to Uitenhage in May, 1821. It was clearly proved that the charges of injustice were wholly unfounded. In letters dated 18 May, 1821, Sir Rufane Donkin declared :—

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XVI.

The whole story of the water fiscal is utterly groundless. He has had no contract—never had one—and consequently never could have made money of the Hottentots out of a contract he never had. He has *not* built for himself a substantial and commodious dwelling by Hottentot labour, under a pretext of their being employed for the public. He has built no house at all.

These two missionaries [Messrs. Kitchingman and Read] came accordingly this morning, and brought that Hottentot [said to have earned 270 rix-dollars in ten days] but no other, there being no complaints. The first question to, and answered by, this Hottentot, completely exposed the falsehood of the statement, for he said he had *three wagons* with him on the occasion, *two* of which were not his own, but hired ; and that for the whole three were paid 270 rix-dollars, that is the usual rate of 90 rix-dollars for each.¹

The Acting Governor took the charitable view of supposing that Philip was misinformed when he laid the accusations contained in his letter of 21 April against the civil authorities of Uitenhage. In the not very edifying correspondence which followed² Philip tried to lay the blame for the unsupported charges at Read's door. The whole incident tended, however, to strain the relations subsisting between the Colonial Government and the superintendent of the London Society.

It was now decided to approach the authorities in another way. The Directors of the Society addressed a memorial dated 27 August, 1823, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Earl Bathurst), in which they called attention to several alleged hardships suffered by the Hottentots, and prayed for redress. The most important of these were : the system of compulsory labour, by which Hottentots were commandeered to work for the Government at a trifling wage ; the pass regulations, which prevented them from settling where they chose, and sometimes led to the severance of close family ties ; and their liability to be flogged, at the order of the landdrost, or even at the will of their masters.³ These were felt to be legitimate grievances, and an ordinance was subsequently promulgated, on 17 July, 1828—the so-called fiftieth

¹ Moodie, op. cit., pp. 13, 15.

² It can be studied in full in Moodie's "Specimens," pp. 12-20 ("Remarks").

³ Memorial in full in "Records of C. C.," Vol. XVI, pp. 215 seqq.

CHAP. XVI. ordinance—by which the Hottentots were freed from the operation of the pass laws, and the apprenticeship of their children was abolished. This amelioration of their condition may be set down as the result, in great part, of the agitation set on foot by Philip.

That same year (1828) was also signalised by the publication of Philip's "Researches in South Africa". It is difficult to describe adequately the conflicting feelings which were aroused by the perusal of this work. In England, indeed, it was, in certain circles, received with acclamation. Mr. Fowell Buxton, in the House of Commons, referred to it as "a work which at the same time displayed great colonial knowledge, and exhibited a strong picture of the injuries which the natives were sustaining". Among Government officials in South Africa, on the other hand, and among the colonists generally, the book produced a strong feeling of irritation and anger. It was not so much Philip's championship of the cause of the natives which provoked resentment: it was his disingenuous presentation of facts and occurrences. That the "Researches" contained erroneous and overdrawn statements is undeniable. This is admitted by the historian of the London Missionary Society, who says: "In a book covering so large an area, and dealing with such bitterly controverted subjects, it was unlikely that slips and errors would be entirely avoided. . . . It was perhaps possible here and there to convict Dr. Philip of some slight inaccuracy, and these were astutely used to divert attention from the enormous mass of irrefutable testimony adduced in support of his main contentions."¹ Whether or no this latter sentence be true of Philip's opponents, we may express the belief that the historian who writes after the lapse of eighty years will give a sufficiently dispassionate account of the facts.

In the seventeenth chapter of his "Researches" Philip had affirmed that "those who should afford them [the Hottentots] protection have a personal interest in endeavouring to perpetuate their miserable bondage and prevent their improvement".² From this general statement he proceeded to charge in particular the Landdrost of Somerset (East) with having

¹ Lovett's "History," I, p. 549.

² "Researches," I, p. 345.

misused his official position to punish with the utmost severity CHAP.
the venial misdemeanour of one of his own servants. Mr. XVI.
Mackay, the official in question, was highly incensed at this
accusation, and he resolved to vindicate his character by an
action for libel against Philip. The case was heard before the
three judges of the Supreme Court in Cape Town, who found
unanimously for the plaintiff, and mulcted Philip in £200
damages and the costs of suit, which, owing to the number of
witnesses that had to be conveyed from the eastern border,
amounted to £900. His friends in England regarded Philip
as a martyr, who was being persecuted for upholding the cause
of the oppressed native, and they accordingly raised a sum of
money sufficient to defray all his expenses.

Seven years after the publication of the "Researches," viz. in 1835, the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee on Aborigines, of which Fowell Buxton was chairman. This Committee brought out a voluminous report, which was read in South Africa with a dissatisfaction almost equal to that which the publication of the "Researches" had awakened. Those who dissented from the Report maintained : that the chairman in his questions had not sought to elucidate the truth, but to establish a case that had been prejudged ; that Philip was the witness to whose assertions credence was given in preference to military officers who knew the border intimately ; that the general spirit of the report was contrary to the most reliable evidence ; and that it contained quotations from documents of which only the sentences consonant to Philip's own views were given, while all that was calculated to qualify those sentences was omitted, without the customary marks of excision.¹

It is difficult for the writer of to-day to describe the feelings which agitated the minds of the colonists eighty years ago. For nearly forty years (ever since 1872) the Cape Colony has now been in possession of representative institutions, and has been free to decide upon its own policy and direct its own affairs. But in those days it was different. The line of policy to be pursued was settled in London, and those who had the

¹ One of the documents thus quoted in mutilated form was Colonel Collins' "Report," the full text of which is given in Moodie: "The Record," part V, pp. 16 seqq. Moodie has printed the excised portions in italics. See also "Records of C. C.," Vol. VII, pp. 20 seqq.

CHAP. | ear of the Downing Street authorities, whether they reflected
XVI. | colonial opinion or not, practically ruled over the destinies of
the Cape. Philip was profoundly distrusted by almost all
South Africans, and his intimate friendship with the chairman
of the Aborigines Committee was viewed with very suspicious
eyes. By many he was looked upon as the author of the
major portion of the "Report," and several circumstances com-
bine to give colour to this surmise. Certain it is that two
members of the Committee, one of whom was William Ewart
Gladstone, then a rising young politician, were struck by the
amount of "contradictory evidence," and pleaded for the ap-
pointment of a Royal Commission for the purpose of instituting
investigations, not 6000 miles away in England, but on the
spot. The proposal was, however, negatived by the majority
of the Committee.¹

The sentiments expressed in the Select Committee's Re-
port, and the principles it expounded, however unpopular in
South Africa, were those by which the country was governed
for many years. The only prominent men who endorsed the
views of the Committee were Philip himself, Fairbairn, the
editor of the "Commercial Advertiser," and a champion of
the liberty of the Press in South Africa, and—for a portion of
his career at least—Captain (afterwards Sir) Andries Stocken-
strom. All other colonials reprobated the chief tenets of the
"Report," viz.: that the natives formed a virtuous and peaceable
section of the community at the Cape; that the tendency of
all the laws and ordinances which had been promulgated was
to oppress and irritate the natives; that the chief blame for
the devastating native wars which had raged must be laid at
the door of the colonists, both British and Dutch, who by con-
tinual depredations and annexations of territory, had goaded
the natives to acts of retaliation and revenge—and, in particular,
that the war of 1834-35 had been thus provoked.

Both Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban and his successor,
Sir George Napier, assumed their offices at the Cape while shar-
ing the views then prevalent in England, that the colonists by
their oppression of the natives were themselves responsible for
the disasters which had overtaken them. Both Governors, being

¹ Minutes, 7 June, 1837.

upright and honest men, discovered and acknowledged that they had been in error. But both were controlled by the Colonial Secretary in London,¹ Lord Glenelg, who was himself a member of the "humanitarian" party, and held firmly the extreme opinions which they professed. Lord Glenelg determined that the policy to be pursued towards the natives should be one of conciliation. Peace was to be proclaimed and treaties established with the most influential native chiefs; all the territory between the Great Fish and the Kei Rivers was to be renounced; and no compensation was to be made to the colonists for losses sustained. As Sir Benjamin D'Urban was now held to be too well-disposed towards the colonists, Captain Andries Stockenstrom was appointed Lieutenant-Governor for the eastern districts, and endowed with full powers to carry out Lord Glenelg's wishes.

The new policy was a failure. It was a failure because its supporters had not rightly diagnosed the situation. They had accepted the views of Philip and his circle, while refusing to listen to those of missionaries in Kafraria itself, who were infinitely better able to judge, and whose condemnation of the Glenelg sentiments and course of action was absolute.² With one single exception, that of a Wesleyan missionary then in England, the agents of the Wesleyan, Glasgow and Moravian Societies, as well as the two of the London Mission who were at work among the Kafirs, dissociated themselves completely from Philip and his party. They declared their conviction that in the recent war the Kafirs had been the aggressors, that the colonists were justified in appealing to arms, and that the Governor had carried on hostilities in accordance with the principles of justice and mercy.³ For this unreserved expression of their opinions the missionaries, and especially the Wesleyan missionaries, incurred a full measure of recrimination and obloquy at the hands of the English "philanthropists".

Another favourite project which Philip succeeded in carrying out was the creation of a belt of treaty States along the

¹ Sir Benjamin D'Urban was the first of a series of Governors who, unlike Lord Charles Somerset, were without powerful family connections in England, and therefore could not act in Somerset's arbitrary fashion.

² See Appendix, *Note H.*

³ For full proofs see the documents quoted in Boyce: "Notes on South African Affairs" (Appendix). See also Appendix, *Notes I and J.*

CHAP. northern border of the Colony. It was proposed to select the
 XVI. most important chieftains of the tribes lying to the immediate
 north of the Orange River, to recognise them as paramount
 chiefs, and to bind them by treaty to perpetual peace with the
 Cape Colony. The first of these treaties was effected with
 Andries Waterboer, chief of the Griquatown people, in 1834.

Waterboer was in his way a notable man. While a teacher in the mission school at Griquatown, he had been chosen by popular vote to the chieftainship of the clan. The event abundantly justified the people's choice. Waterboer was a capable military leader, and allowed himself to be guided by the advice of the missionaries. The latter in return assisted him to extend and consolidate his influence over the Griquas. By the treaty of 11 December, 1834, he declared himself to be the faithful ally of the Cape Government, and undertook to preserve peace and order along the northern border so far as his sphere of influence extended. In return for these services he received an annual subsidy of £100, and a supply of 200 muskets with a sufficiency of ammunition, in order effectively to perform the policing of the border. Waterboer proved worthy of the trust reposed in him. With the arms which had been supplied to him he led an expedition against the robber chief Klaas Stuurman, who from his island fastnesses in the Orange River had caused the Government huge trouble, and succeeded in completely exterminating the marauding band. As the treaty with Waterboer had proved so eminently satisfactory, the Government was inclined to consider favourably Philip's proposal to establish additional treaties with neighbouring chiefs. It was hoped that by the creation of a chain of treaty States along the northern border the emigration of the dissatisfied Dutch farmers, which by 1843 was proceeding vigorously, would be effectively checked.

The chiefs who were now approached were Adam Kok, head of the Griquas in the district of what is now Philippolis, and Moshesh, paramount chief of the Basuto nation. A station of the London mission had been established at the *kraal* of Adam Kok, and this chief was therefore agreeable to any plan suggested by Philip and his fellow-missionaries. The French missionaries, whose influence was supreme in Basutoland, likewise recommended Moshesh to agree to the proposed treaty,

and the wily chief was astute enough to see the immense advantages of being an ally of the English and receiving from them an annual subsidy. The two treaties were drawn up in terms similar to those arranged with Waterboer, and duly signed by the interested parties. The whole of the territory along the right bank of the Orange River, from a point near Griquatown up as far as the junction of the Caledon, was thus assigned to three native chiefs, on the tacit understanding that no white men were to lay claim to any portion of it, or venture to settle there without the chief's permission.

The men to whom these treaties gave the utmost offence were the emigrant farmers. About a thousand of them had by this time settled along the Riet River in territory described by the terms of the treaty as belonging to Adam Kok, though in reality he had never, previous to the treaty, exercised jurisdiction over the whole of it. There were, in fact, more Europeans than natives in this tract of country, and the emigrants very naturally refused to accept the position of vassals and dependents of a native chieftain. Hostilities could not be long postponed, and in 1844 they actually broke out. In pursuance of the terms of the treaty, Sir Peregrine Maitland, who at this critical juncture had assumed the reins of government, despatched two bodies of soldiers to the support of Adam Kok. In a skirmish at Zwartkopjes (2 May, 1845) the emigrants were routed, and one hundred prisoners-of-war fell into the hands of the victors. The farmers were compelled to come to terms, and they agreed to confine themselves to the territory between the Riet and Modder Rivers, paying a quitrent for the ground occupied, while Kok was nominally confirmed in his chieftainship over the remaining moiety of the disputed area.

Both the treaty with Adam Kok and that with Moshesh gave rise to many more evils than they availed to cure. They were established in response to a commendable desire on the part of Philip and the section he represented, to prevent the aggression of European emigrants on the territory occupied by native tribes. In trying to do justice, however, to the one party, Philip inflicted grave injustice on the other. Adam Kok had, as a matter of fact, no better right to the land between the Orange and Modder Rivers than the emigrants themselves. The Kok clan had always been wanderers. They had migrated

CHAP. from the Kamiesbergen to Griquatown, from Griquatown to XVI. Campbell, from Campbell to the Langberg, until at length Philip had invited them to the station which was thereafter known as Philippolis. The claim made for Adam Kok with his thousand or so of followers to the possession of the whole tract of country between the Orange and the Modder, was in its very nature preposterous. The real occupants of that area, before the arrival of the emigrants, were a few communities of wandering Korannas and Bushmen. As for Moshesh, no Europeans even attempted to dispossess him of his mountains and fertile valleys. It was only in subsequent years, after repeated wars with the Free State Republic, that the Dutch farmers wrested from the famous "mountain chief" a small portion of his country, which under the title of "the Conquered Territory" they have since retained.

A few words must suffice for the latter years of the superintendent of the London mission. The loss, first of his son William, who was drowned while crossing the Gamtoos River, and subsequently of his devoted and able wife, greatly saddened and weakened Philip. The defection and apostasy of John Tshatshu, whom he had exhibited in England as a shining example of a Christian Kafir, was a heavy blow. Tshatshu had risen in rebellion against the colonial authorities, and had imbrued his hands with the blood of helpless Fingo women and children. These things weighed heavily upon Philip's spirit. He resigned the superintendency of the mission and retired to Hankey mission station, where he spent his remaining years in complete abstention from politics, and in earnest endeavour after the welfare of the flock committed to his care. He died on 17 August, 1851.

Philip has been made in turn the subject of the most extravagant laudation and the most unmeasured vituperation. Neither the one nor the other is wholly deserved. He was a man of quite exceptional ability, and one who succeeded in impressing his powerful personality upon all who happened to agree with his views. The attitude of mind with which he regarded the natives was an inheritance from Van der Kemp. Philip was, however, more practical than Van der Kemp, more persistent in pursuing his aims, and less scrupulous as to the means employed for attaining them. He made many

disingenuous statements, which he was frequently unable to substantiate and not sufficiently honest to withdraw. But with all his faults, he must be set down as one of the greatest benefactors of the Hottentots and other natives that have lived in South Africa. His advocacy of their rights led him indeed to lengths which are greatly to be deplored, and the methods which he adopted provoked the extremest animosity towards his person, but he held on his way with unflinching courage, and for that we cannot refuse him a meed of praise. Many of the measures for whose introduction he was primarily responsible were in themselves excellent, and it was only in consequence of the antipathy which the colonists felt for their author, that they failed to secure universal approval. It is no doubt foolish to affirm, with the historian of the mission : "When he first set foot on its soil in 1819, the Hottentots and other native tribes in and near Cape Colony had practically no rights, and were in a worse position than the slaves".¹ But it is undeniable that Philip's influence was effective in procuring a considerable improvement in the status of the Hottentots, and to this improvement the excellent fiftieth ordinance was in no small measure contributory.

Philip controlled the affairs of the London mission with a firm hand. He abolished many abuses, regulated the finances, evolved order out of dire confusion, admonished erring missionaries, and strove to inspire lethargic brethren with something of his own vigour and enterprise. To many his rule gave great offence, for Philip was sufficiently dictatorial and opinionated. But in the majority of instances his schemes were adopted and carried out. Closely on the heels of Philip's decease followed the death of James Read, whose term of labour covered the whole of the first half of the century. Though for a time under a cloud, Read lived down the suspicion with which he was once regarded, and died at Kat River in 1852, full of years and honour.

¹ Lovett's "History," I, p. 570.

CHAPTER XVII.

ROBERT MOFFAT AND THE BECHUANA MISSION.

The course of this man's life had been very simple, and yet crowded with events and with manifold activity. The element of his energy was an indestructible faith in God, and in an assistance flowing immediately from him.—GOETHE (Concerning Jung Stilling).

Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new:
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do.

TENNYSON.

CHAP. XVII. IT is now time to turn our steps to the distant north, where, while Philip was organising the mission in the south and engaging in constant skirmishes with Government and colonists, Moffat was quietly laying the foundation and building up the fabric of the London Society's most successful and enduring work. Robert Moffat was undeniably the greatest missionary which that Society sent to South Africa—the greatest in natural ability, in patient devotion to duty, and in deep, transparent piety.

Moffat was born at Ormiston, a village in Scotland, on 21 December, 1795. His parents were of the humble class, but like all God-fearing Scotch parents, they trained their son in habits of rectitude and industry. From his mother, who would read to him tales of the undaunted courage of the Moravian and other early missionaries, he must have received his first impulses towards the career which he afterwards adopted. But for many years there was no thought of going abroad as a missionary. This desire only became strong after his conversion, which occurred in his twentieth year. He was at that time an under-gardener, but on hearing that the London Society employed men of very different attainments, he offered himself to the Directors. After a short period of probation he was accepted, and sailed for South Africa in 1816, landing in Cape Town in January, 1817. The party to which he belonged

consisted of Moffat himself, together with Messrs. Taylor, Kitchingman, Evans and Brownlee—all names of note in the history of South African missions.

The young missionaries were welcomed by Rev. George Thom, who was then acting as superintendent of the London mission. Of the five new men, two, namely Moffat and Kitchingman, were intended for the Namaqualand mission. At the very outset, however, a serious obstacle arose. Lord Charles Somerset refused them permission to proceed beyond the colonial border. The reason for this refusal is sufficiently explained in a letter which the Governor directed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

That English establishments should exist upon the border, not liable to colonial laws and regulations, cannot be satisfactorily explained to the colonists, who are themselves strictly prohibited from passing that frontier, which they daily see the native *bastards* do unrestrained, and to which their slaves desert with impunity. I own I am disposed to think that no further encouragement should at present be given to missionary establishments beyond the boundary.¹

The mission station which Lord Charles Somerset had chiefly in view when he penned the above despatch was Griquatown. The idea that Griquatown was a resort for runaway slaves was widely spread, but was also greatly exaggerated. In any case, the Governor's mind was made up on the question, and no representations could avail to alter it. Those of the young men whose appointed spheres lay within the Colony proceeded to their fields of labour. Moffat went temporarily to Stellenbosch, where he boarded with a wine farmer named Hamman, whose hospitality was equalled by his piety and missionary zeal.

During his stay at Stellenbosch young Moffat acquired a working knowledge of the Dutch language, which was of inestimable benefit to him during his subsequent career. He also proceeded on a prolonged tour of the country in company with Thom, and then returned to Cape Town, where he strove to perfect himself in whatever crafts might conceivably be useful to him in his mission work. The Governor's objections having been eventually overcome, he was allowed to proceed northward, with Kitchingman and his wife as companions.

¹ "Records of Cape Colony," XI, p. 254.

CHAP. XVII. The journey followed the route taken by the pioneer band in 1805, and already described. The Kitchingmans were left behind at the station subsequently known as Steinkopf, and Moffat proceeded alone on his way to Afrikaner's kraal, which he reached in safety in January, 1818. Here Ebner had been stationed for some time. He was one of the Germans of whom, at that early stage, the London Society employed so many, and seems to have been a man of little patience and tact. Quarrels with the natives were of daily occurrence, and to such a pass did matters come that Ebner finally left the place two months after Moffat's arrival, and subsequently returned to Germany.

Moffat set himself to winning the confidence of the inhabitants, and in this he made rapid progress. The old chief, Jager Afrikaner, who under the labours of the earlier missionaries had come to conversion, was from the commencement his unswerving friend. It was a more difficult matter to secure the goodwill of the sullen Titus—the murderer of Pienaar—but this also was successfully accomplished. It was soon apparent to Moffat that the spot where Afrikaner's kraal stood was no place in which to gather a community or establish a mission. The country was barren in the extreme. Water was scarce and poor in quality. No garden could be planted, no wheat grown, no vegetables raised. There was almost nothing for the missionary to occupy himself with, and his only solace was his Bible and his violin. At Moffat's suggestion Afrikaner and a number of his followers accompanied the young missionary on a prolonged tour to the north-west, to make search, in the Great Namaqua country, for some more fertile and more suitable site. After two months the expedition returned unsuccessful. The portions through which they had passed were, if possible, even more barren and dismal than their present station.

In 1819 Moffat undertook a journey to Cape Town which was fraught with consequences of the utmost importance for his future life. Acting on a thought which suggested itself to him with great suddenness, he decided to take with him Afrikaner himself, the former outlaw. The immense sensation caused by the sight of this man, once the terror of farmers and natives alike, is too well known from Moffat's own account to

need further description. More important was the favourable impression towards mission work that was created in the mind of Lord Charles Somerset. "His Excellency," says Moffat, "was evidently much struck with this result of missionary enterprise . . . and was now convinced that a most important point had been gained; and, as a testimony of his good feeling, he presented Afrikaner with an excellent wagon valued at £80."¹

A second influence which entered Moffat's life during this visit to Cape Town was his marriage. He had been for more than three years engaged to Miss Mary Smith of Dukinfield, in whose father's employ he had formerly been. An attachment had sprung up between the beautiful and pious daughter and the young employé, and when he departed for the Cape it was on the understanding that she should soon follow to become his wife. Miss Smith's parents were, however, strongly averse to her going to so distant and wild a country. Moffat was in despair, as there seemed at one time no prospect of his fiancée being able to join him. But presently the parents yielded and gave their consent. Miss Smith came out to the Cape under the charge of the Rev. Beck of the South African Missionary Society, and on one of the last days of the year 1819 she was united in the bonds of matrimony to Robert Moffat.

In the same year the Rev. John Campbell and Dr. Philip reached Cape Town, as deputation of the Directors of the home Society, to report on and reorganise the South African work. As has been already stated in a former chapter, the state of affairs in 1819 demanded immediate and serious attention. "Some of the men who had been sent out had proved themselves unworthy of their trust, and had not maintained even an ordinary standard of Christian conduct. On the arrival of Robert Moffat and his colleagues, they were astounded to find themselves associated in the service of the Society with men who had brought shame on the very name of Christian, and whose reputations were a by-word to the ungodly."² The deputation intimated to Moffat their desire that he should proceed

¹ "Missionary Labours," p. 179.

² J. S. Moffat: "Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat," Chap. VII (p. 43 of cheap ed.).

CHAP. XVII. to the Bechuana tribe in order to assume control of the work there. This information was unexpected and somewhat disconcerting to Moffat, but after consultation with Afrikaner he agreed to the proposal, the chief undertaking to forward Moffat's furniture and books to Lithako,¹ and perhaps to follow with his whole tribe. This promise the old chief duly fulfilled, and then returned to his *kraal*, where shortly afterwards he died.

Moffat and his wife reached Lithako in May, 1821, considerable delay having been caused through the Governor again refusing his consent to the missionaries proceeding beyond Griquatown. Previous to Moffat's arrival Read, Evans and Hamilton had attempted to conduct a mission at Lithako, but without much success. Read, however, persuaded the chief Mothibi—a son of the old Molehabangue, whom we met in a former chapter—to transfer his capital to a place on the banks of the Kuruman River, which henceforward becomes the centre of the mission to the Bechuana. Moffat applied himself with great earnestness and assiduity to the mastery of the native language. This was no easy task, as there existed no grammar or vocabulary of the Sechuana² language, and the missionary could find neither the time nor the quiet needed for acquiring it. Patience and perseverance, however, enabled him to surmount all obstacles, and by 1825 he was able to send the manuscript of his first Sechuana work—a spelling-book—to Cape Town to be printed.

Meanwhile the attitude of the natives towards the missionaries remained utterly indifferent, and indeed contemptuous. Not a single man or woman evinced the slightest interest in the message which the missionaries proclaimed in their ears. The chief, indeed, was well-disposed towards them, but he was a man of no force of character, and his influence over his subjects was exceedingly limited. The missionaries, for example, had cut a furrow three miles long, by which water could be conveyed from the river on to the lands assigned them. The native women made nothing of diverting the water into their

¹ *Lithako* is the place called Lattakoo in Campbell's "Journeys," and Letakong by J. S. Moffat in "Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat".

² *Be-chuana*=the people; *Mo-chuana*=a single individual; *Se-chuana*=the language of the Be-chuana.

own gardens, stealing the missionaries' vegetables, and even destroying the weir by which the water was conducted out of its original channel ; and the feeble and pusillanimous chief was powerless to interfere. Such was the spirit of callousness and insolence in which the Bechuana regarded the white men who had settled in their midst. But events were about to occur which effected a marvellous change in their disposition. These events stood in connection with the threatened invasion of the terrible Mantatees. To understand what this invasion implied, a few words are necessary on the historical situation.

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During the early years of the century Chaka had made himself master of the Zulu nation, and had gradually developed a military system which made his army absolutely invincible by other native tribes. He then began his career of conquest and bloodshed, which must ever stamp him as one of the most sanguinary tyrants the world has seen. Many tribes were wholly wiped out ; many more were brought to the verge of extermination, and their small remnants incorporated in the Zulu nation ; immense areas were almost completely depopulated. Theal estimates that in Chaka's bloody wars of conquest nearly two millions of human beings must have lost their lives. As Chaka began to enlarge the sphere of his influence, he sent his armies farther and ever farther afield, and these armies drove the smaller native tribes before them. One of these tribes, which then occupied the eastern portion of what is now the Orange Free State, fled towards the west, committing upon the weaker tribes along its route the same enormities that Chaka's hosts were perpetrating elsewhere. This tribe was under the chieftainship of a woman named Ma-Ntatisi, whence it derived its general name of "Mantatees". It was these Mantatees who in 1823 were found to be marching on the Bechuana at Kuruman, intent on murder and pillage.

Moffat was the first to discover their proximity and to realise the imminent danger to which Mothibi and his people were exposed. He judged rightly that the Batlaping (as Mothibi's section of the Bechuana was called) would prove no match for the invading army. He therefore hastened to Griquatown, and prevailed upon Waterboer to come to their assistance. The Griqua chief took the field with 100 mounted men armed with rifles. Marching northward they soon came

CHAP. XVII. in sight of the dreaded Mantatees. Efforts to open negotiations were unavailing. The enemy continued to make fierce rushes at them, and Waterboer was ultimately compelled to fire upon them, killing one of their boldest warriors. The Griquas did not dare to waste a single shot, as each man had no more than twelve rounds of ammunition. Before this scanty supply was exhausted, the little band decided to charge the enemy, and within a few minutes the whole of the Mantatee army was in mad flight. The date was 23 June, 1823. And thus it came about that an insignificant number of Griquas defeated an overwhelming horde of savage enemies, saved the Batlaping tribe from extinction, and prevented, in all likelihood, the irruption of a mass of barbarians into the northern districts of the Cape Colony. For the mission too the result of this battle was of inestimable importance. Hitherto the missionaries had been only just tolerated among the Batlaping, and no more. But from this time onward their position was fully established. Mothibi and his people were fain to recognise that, but for the presence and resource of Moffat and Hamilton, they would have been overborne by their dreaded foes, and either scattered to the four winds or wholly exterminated. The tide of popular feeling now began to flow in favour of the intrepid missionaries, and though some years were still to elapse before the Gospel secured any decisive victories, the position of influence which they now achieved was never subsequently lost.

The year 1829 was remarkable for the first general spiritual awakening. The mission had now been established for thirteen years, but during that long period of strenuous labour and patient waiting, no fruit had appeared to gladden the hearts and fortify the faith of the workers. For several months previous to 1829, however, there had taken place a gradual displacement of the natives dwelling along the course of the Kuruman River. A large proportion of the Batlaping tribe, weary of the incessant raids to which they were subject at the hands of their neighbours on the east, had removed to the more barren but less exposed region on the west. Their places were taken by refugees from the smaller interior tribes, which had been dispersed by the raids of the Matabele and the Mantatees. In the Gospel as proclaimed by Hamilton and

Moffat there was something which strongly appealed to these impoverished and homeless fugitives. With their arrival a more regular attendance at the ordinances of grace, and a more eager attention to the Gospel message became noticeable. In 1829 rich blessing descended upon the Kuruman field of labour. Without any apparent antecedent agency a wave of strong emotion broke over the inhabitants. They crowded the place of worship long before the service was timed to begin. Men, women and children were bathed in tears. Some would listen with intense earnestness to the tones of the preacher's voice, and then suddenly fall down in hysterics, or suffer themselves to be borne away in a state of extreme prostration. At all hours of the day the missionaries would be beset in their homes by numbers of anxious seekers after salvation. Those who had found peace would gather for prayer and praise, and at early morn and late even the voice of rejoicing and salvation was heard in the tabernacles of the righteous.

A great change now came over the whole aspect of the mission. Heathen practices were discontinued: the moral condition of the community underwent a complete revolution; more cleanly habits and more decent clothing were generally adopted. But there were other results which assured the missionaries of the permanence of the change they had witnessed. Some of the converts undertook voluntarily the erection of a building which could be used immediately as a church, and ultimately as a school, when the more commodious place of worship which was projected should have arisen. This building was completed in the middle of 1829, and in it the first six converts were solemnly baptised. Nearly three years before this happy consummation a friend in England had written to Mrs. Moffat, asking what useful thing she could send her. The reply was: "Send us a communion service; we shall need it some day". It was an answer of faith, for when Mrs. Moffat wrote these words there were no signs of a religious awakening. The communion service was duly sent, and—remarkable to say—it reached the mission station two days previous to the first communion, to which the six earliest converts and the missionaries themselves sat down.

Another event which made the year 1829 memorable was Moffat's visit to the famous Matabele chief Moselekatse. This

CHAP. XVII. man had been one of Chaka's captains, but had thrown off the tyrant's yoke and established an independent kingdom on the western border of what is now the Transvaal. Moselekatse, realising the prestige acquired by tribes who had white men residing with them, despatched two of his *indunas*¹ to Kuruman, in order to study the manners and teachings of the missionaries. On their return to their master, Moffat accompanied them, and was one of the earliest Europeans to visit the native chieftain whose name was a byword in South Africa for acts of valour and savagery. The courageous missionary was well received. He remained at Moselekatse's kraal for ten days, and acquired remarkable influence over that potentate. Laying his hand on Moffat's shoulder the latter said :—

“ My heart is all white as milk : I am still wondering at the love of a stranger who never saw me. You have fed me, you have protected me, you have carried me in your arms. I live to-day by you, a stranger.”

“ But,” replied Moffat, “ when did I do all that for you ? ”

Pointing to the ambassadors who had visited Kuruman the chief answered :—

“ These are great men. Umbate is my right hand. You fed them and clothed them, and when they were to be slain, you were their shield. You did it unto me. You did it unto Moselekatse, the son of Machobane.”

Moffat had long conversations with the Matabele chief, trying to convince him of the sinfulness of his career of blood and conquest. At length, after being loaded with kindness and gifts, he was permitted to return to Kuruman, which was safely reached after an absence of two months.

In the year following (1830) Moffat and his wife undertook a journey to Cape Town. Certain portions of Scripture had by this time been translated into the Sechuana tongue, and Moffat was eager to have them printed. They journeyed by way of the Eastern Province, and Moffat reached Cape Town in August, 1830, his wife joining him at a subsequent date. Disappointments, however, awaited him in the capital. Type and compositors were scarce, and no printing office could undertake even the slight task of producing the Gospel of

¹ Induna = councillor,

Luke and a small hymn book. Through the courtesy of the Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, the Government printing office was rendered accessible to Moffat, and there the first publications in the Sechuana language saw the light. Dr. Philip had meanwhile supplied Moffat with a printing press which was conveyed, not without great toil, to Kuruman, and there did signal service for the mission in the ensuing years.

At Kuruman the work was making steady progress. By the close of 1834 its population had grown to 727. There were two schools with 115 scholars. The services on Sundays were attended, on an average, by 340 persons, and those held during the week by 130. The number of communicants was 29. The little community possessed in all 2300 horned cattle.

In 1835 a scientific expedition that had been despatched from Cape Town reached Kuruman on its northward journey. At its head stood Dr. Andrew Smith, whose arrival at the mission station was providential, as both Moffat and his wife were ill, and in urgent need of medical assistance. In gratitude to Dr. Smith for his careful and sympathetic treatment, Moffat consented to accompany the expedition as far as Moselekatse's kraal, in order to secure for Dr. Smith and his colleagues a friendly reception at that chief's hands. Moselekatse was found at a kraal some miles east of the Marico River; and there Moffat remained for two months, strengthening the influence which he had already acquired over the heathen chieftain.

Two years subsequently Moffat visited England for the first time since his departure in 1817. The chief object of the visit was to see the Sechuana translation of the New Testament through the press. But the missionary soon found his time otherwise occupied. Immense interest had been created in his self-denying and eminently successful missionary undertakings in South Africa. He was received everywhere with kindling enthusiasm. His simplicity and directness, his burning zeal, and the story of striking successes which he had to tell, deeply impressed his audiences. His task of publishing the Sechuana New Testament became, in consequence, a toilsome and protracted labour; and it was the commencement of 1843 before he and his wife were ready to sail once more

CHAP. for South Africa. From this time onward the affairs of the
XVII. Griqua and Bechuana missions were set free from the super-
intendency of Dr. Philip, and placed under the direction of a
District Committee composed of the local missionaries. A
distinct turning-point in the history of the northern branch of
the London mission is thus reached, at which it seems best
to interrupt the course of the narrative, in order to follow the
spread of the Gospel elsewhere in South Africa.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WESLEYAN MISSIONS.

The pains of martyrs, or the losses of self-sacrificing devotion are never classed among the evil things of the world. They are its bright places rather, the culminating points at which humanity has displayed its true glory and reached its perfect level. An irrepressible pride and gladness are the feelings they elicit: a pride no neglect can drown, a gladness no indignation can overpower.—JAMES HINTON.

JOHN WESLEY, the founder of Methodism, died in 1791, after inaugurating a movement which profoundly modified the religious life of the England of the eighteenth century. It is indeed almost impossible to overestimate the widespread and beneficent influence which the Evangelical Revival exercised over the sunken masses of the English people of that period. This is admitted by historians of all schools. Mr. Lecky, whom no one will suspect of partiality for the evangelical religion, says, in his “History of England in the Eighteenth Century”:¹ “The doctrines the Methodist teacher taught, the theory of life he enforced, proved themselves capable of arousing in great masses of men an enthusiasm of piety which was hardly surpassed in the first days of Christianity, of eradicating inveterate vice, of fixing and directing impulsive and tempestuous natures that were rapidly hastening towards the abyss. Methodism planted a fervid and enduring religious sentiment in the midst of the most brutal and neglected portions of the population.”

But though Methodism gave its best and most sustained efforts to what are now known as Home Missions, it did not neglect work in the foreign field. The Wesleyan Missionary Society was only formed in 1813, but long before that year Methodist missionaries were at work among the heathen. The pioneer of Methodist foreign missionaries was the devoted and

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¹ Vol. II, p. 600.

CHAP. XVIII. intrepid Dr. T. Coke, the man deputed by Wesley to proceed to America and ordain for the Methodist ministry all whom he thought worthy,—which action was the first emphatic step by which Wesley cut himself and his followers off from the Established Church. Coke was a warm-hearted Irishman, who was consumed by a passionate zeal for neglected and down-trodden heathen nations. For nearly thirty years he toiled among the enslaved negroes of the West Indies. In his old age he pleaded to be sent to Ceylon, offering to defray all the expenses of the mission out of his own pocket, and affirming that “he would rather be set down naked and without a friend on the shores of Ceylon, than not go”. Such earnestness prevailed, and in December, 1813, he sailed from England with six like-minded companions. In the Indian Ocean, about a month before the vessel reached Bombay, Coke was found dead in his cabin. So ended the life of a man who for many years devoted time and strength and private means to the propagation of the Kingdom of Christ among the heathen.

A few months after the departure from England of Dr. Coke and his company—to be accurate, in March, 1814—there sailed for Cape Town the first Methodist minister to be appointed to South Africa. This was the Rev. John McKenny. The fortunes of South African Methodism previous to this event, as well as the manner in which McKenny was received, are best described in the following letter addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by Mr. Joseph Butterworth, M.P. :—

It appears that in the year 1806 several pious soldiers, members of Mr. Wesley's societies, of different regiments, both cavalry and infantry, were stationed in Cape Colony.

At a short distance from Cape Town, towards Table Mountain, they at first built with stones a small place in which, as opportunity served, they held meetings for worshipping Almighty God and reading the Scriptures and where it seems they encouraged each other to “fear God, and honour the King”. At length they obtained the use of a Quakers' meeting-house at Cape Town, in which they carried on religious service; and other persons have from time to time joined their Society.

Particular instances of a reformation of morals have occurred, and are well authenticated, and as a proof of the habits induced I beg leave to quote a passage written by one of these soldiers: “We endeavour to impress on each other's minds the duty of becoming humble and submissive

to our officers and those that have the rule over us, not with eye-service, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart".

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These men have repeatedly written home and have earnestly entreated that a missionary of their own persuasion might be sent out for their religious instruction. Till this year, it has not, I understand, happened that a suitable person could be spared from other stations. At length Mr. John McKenny and his wife were, at a very considerable expense to the Committee, sent to the Cape from London.

On their arrival Mr. McKenny applied to the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, for permission to remain in the Colony and to preach in Cape Town and the country; but His Lordship has refused the permission to preach, under an apprehension that his exertions might interfere with the established religion; and Mr. McKenny now remains at the Cape silenced, without being able to fulfil the benevolent intentions of the Committee.

The object of this letter is to request the permission of His Majesty's Government for Mr. and Mrs. McKenny to remain at the Cape of Good Hope, with leave for him to preach and exercise his functions as a minister of religion at Cape Town and in the contiguous country, as he may find it convenient.¹

Lord Charles Somerset's reasons for withholding from McKenny the right to preach were apparently these,—that the duly appointed chaplains of the Church of England would resent his labouring among the soldiers, and that the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church would take his work on behalf of the slaves with an equally ill grace. For eighteen months McKenny lay idle at Cape Town; at the lapse of which time the Committee, conceiving that the Governor might have contracted a grudge against McKenny personally, directed him to proceed to Ceylon, and appointed as his successor the Rev. Barnabas Shaw. Shaw reached Table Bay in April, 1816, and from his arrival is to be dated the commencement of the missionary undertakings of Wesleyan Methodism.

THE NAMAQUALAND MISSION.

Shaw was the son of a Yorkshire farmer, and his early training on his father's farm stood him in good stead during his subsequent missionary career. When designated by the Committee for work in the South African field, he immediately applied himself to the study of the Dutch language under one Jansen, then resident in London, and not many months after

¹"Records of Cape Colony," X, pp. 230, 231 (a few sentences omitted).

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XVIII. new language. For several months Shaw visited and preached
to the soldiers at Cape Town, Wynberg and Simon's Town, with the knowledge of the Governor, if not with his formal
consent. He had, however, been appointed for work among
the heathen, and was but waiting for a distinct and providential
call. The call came in September, 1816. There arrived in
Cape Town a missionary of the London Society, J. Henry
Schmelen by name, who for several years past had been devot-
ing himself to the Namaqua tribes, along the Orange River.
Schmelen presented the claims of the degraded Namaqua so
movingly that Shaw, though at first reluctant, on account of
his wife's delicate health, to proceed to so distant a field,
agreed eventually to accompany his brother missionary. After
considerable difficulty a passport was obtained from Lord
Charles Somerset.

On their northward journey they traversed the same route as
that followed by the Albrechts and Seidenfaden in 1805, and de-
scribed in a former chapter. The country, however, especially
its southern portion, was better populated than eleven years
earlier, and from the Dutch farmers along the way the travellers
received the most hospitable treatment possible. After they
had crossed the Oliphants River, they fell in with a Namaqua
chief, who informed them that he was proceeding to Cape
Town—a distance of between 400 and 500 miles from his
kraal—in order to secure a teacher who could instruct them
from the Great Word. Shaw was much impressed by this
unexpected meeting, and looking upon the whole incident as
divinely appointed, decided to return with the chief and settle
among his people.

The place at which the new station, called Leliefontein
(Lily Fountain), was established was the Kamiesbergen, where
in former years the bastard tribe of the Koks had dwelt, before
their removal to Griquatown. Here Shaw remained for ten
years, during which period immense progress was made with
the evangelising and uplifting of the natives. They were
trained to habits of industry, and changed from pastoral
nomads into a settled community following agricultural pur-
suits. The Namaqua, being a light-hearted and impressionable
race, received the Word with gladness, and in the hearts of a

goodly number a real work of grace was speedily visible. One of the most earnest and devoted converts was Jacob Links, who offered himself as a missionary to the ignorant and degraded Bushmen living farther to the north. For months he wandered about in the desert, with these shy and inaccessible men, suffering the pangs of hunger and the tortures of thirst; but he could make but little impression upon them, and was eventually compelled to relinquish the hopeless task.

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In 1818, a coadjutor was sent to Shaw in the person of the Rev. E. Edwards, and in the following year the Namaqua mission was further strengthened by the arrival of the Rev. J. Archbell and his wife, who commenced a new work at a station called Rietfontein (Reed Fountain), four days' travelling to the north of Leliefontein. The arrival of these brethren set Shaw free for a long-projected undertaking—a visit to his friend Schmelen at his station beyond the Orange River.

The Shaws started from Leliefontein in March, 1820, passed the graves of Mrs. Albrecht and Mrs. Sass at the deserted Silver Fountain station, and duly reached Steinkopf, where the London missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Kitchingman, were stationed. The latter not only received them with great joy, but also resolved to accompany the expedition to Great Namaqualand. A month after leaving Leliefontein the difficult task of crossing the swollen Orange by raft was successfully accomplished, and a few days later they reached Bethany, the station of Schmelen, who was overjoyed to see the first white missionaries who had paid him a visit. Shaw next resumed his travels towards the north-east, with the design of visiting the little-known tribes who dwelt there. Some of the chiefs whose kraals were visited had known him in earlier days at Leliefontein, and they expressed an earnest wish that a teacher should be sent them.

This wish Shaw, after his return to Leliefontein, was eager to fulfil, and Archbell was appointed to the station at Warm Bath, which since the disaster of 1811 had been left deserted by the London missionaries. He proceeded to his new field, accompanied by his wife and the faithful Jacob Links; but before he could establish himself a feud broke out between the Namaqua and their inveterate enemies, the Bushmen, and he deemed it wise to withdraw from the area of strife. Before

CHAP. XVIII. peace was again arranged, Archbell had been appointed to the Bechuana mission.

A second attempt to re-occupy Warm Bath was made in 1825, but it ended even more disastrously than the first. It was undertaken by the Rev. William Threlfall, of whose earlier experiences as a missionary the briefest account must suffice. Threlfall arrived at the Cape in 1822, and after a short period of work in the Albany district, proceeded, in 1823, to Delagoa Bay. Here he was soon struck down by fever, and was taken on board, when already in a very enfeebled state, by the captain of the whaler "Nereid". Within a day or two of leaving Delagoa Bay every member of the crew of this unfortunate vessel had contracted fever, and the captain was compelled to secure the helm and commit his ship to the mercy of wind and wave. During the passage to Cape Town the first and third mates and eleven of the crew died. The strain imposed upon the captain had rendered him delirious. Fortunately the signal of distress which the ship flew was seen, and a vessel was despatched from Table Bay to bring her safe to port. Threlfall was then only just alive, yet the hapless "Nereid" was placed under quarantine for six weeks, and no communication with the shore was permitted. On pressure being brought to bear upon the Government, leave was granted to another missionary, Whitworth, to visit his afflicted brother, on condition that he did not leave the infected vessel so long as the quarantine was in force. This Whitworth consented to do, and his exertions were the means of saving the life not only of Threlfall, but also of the rest of the "Nereid's" crew.

After his recovery Threlfall proceeded to Leliefontein, where he was labouring in 1825, when plans were being projected for resuming the Great Namaqualand mission. He at once volunteered for the new field, and set off, in the middle of 1825, for the country beyond the Orange. His companions were the indefatigable Jacob Links and another native Christian named Johannes Jager. They reached Warm Bath safely in August, 1825, and there engaged a Bushman guide named Naugaap. This unhappy man's cupidity was excited by what appeared to him immense wealth—viz. the pack-oxen which the travellers employed, and the few articles which they bore with them for purposes of barter. He accordingly planned with

two other Bushmen to assassinate the unsuspecting missionary and his companions. The nefarious design was actually carried out. One night, after the three companions had retired to sleep, the murderers approached and fired their poisoned arrows, killing the two Namaqua almost instantly. Threlfall himself was only wounded at the first onset. Seeing escape to be impossible he knelt to pray, and was then struck to earth and slain. The murderers were eventually captured, and Naugaap was executed at Silver Fountain by men of his own tribe. Months elapsed before news of this tragedy reached Leliefontein, and great was the grief of the missionaries when they learnt that the career of their devout and promising brother had been so suddenly cut short. So ended the second attempt to evangelise Great Namaqualand.

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Meanwhile the work at Leliefontein had, through the blessing of God, greatly prospered. The traveller, George Thompson, who visited it in this same year (1825), speaks in terms of sincere approval of the excellent work which had been accomplished by the missionaries :—

The settlement of Lily Fountain was commenced eight or ten years ago by the Wesleyans. Three-fourths of the inhabitants were at present dispersed, with their flocks and herds, at various outposts in the mountain glens. When collected they amount to about 400 souls, consisting principally of Namaqua Hottentots, intermingled with several families of the mixed or bastard race. The latter are generally the most wealthy and enterprising. Very large herds of cattle are possessed by many individuals. Upwards of 4000 head belong to this little community.

The extent of land cultivable is very considerable. About 90 muids of wheat had been sown this season, covering from 300 to 400 acres ; from which, if the season were tolerably favourable, a return of from thirty-to fifty-fold was anticipated. Were there any accessible market for their surplus produce, a very much larger quantity might readily be raised.

The Kamiesberg is distant about forty miles from the west coast. The missionary establishment is within 300 feet of the highest peak of the mountain. The climate is consequently very different from that of the plains below, and its salubrity is proverbial. On the whole it appears a well-selected and well-conducted missionary station, highly creditable to its founders, and highly beneficial to the people under their control.¹

In 1826, to the great grief of the Leliefontein inhabitants, the Committee judged it necessary to remove Shaw to Cape

¹ Thompson : " Travels and Adventures in South Africa " (1827), Vol. II, pp. 88-91 (some omissions).

CHAP. XVIII. Town. At the latter centre he laboured for thirty years longer, with the exception of some six years spent in England. Shaw was a man of vigorous health and unwearied activity. A single extract from his diary will show the nature of the work in which he was engaged:—

June 26th.—Preached in Dutch at Simon's Town at half-past nine o'clock. Rode about three miles, and spoke to the convicts and soldiers. At two o'clock preached at Musenburg; between three and four, at Baas Herman's kraal. Held a short service at Diep River; thence proceeded to Wynberg, where I preached in English, and reached home [Cape Town] about nine o'clock, having held six different services, and ridden twenty-four miles.¹

In 1851 this pioneer of Wesleyan Missions in South Africa passed to his reward.

For eight years after the martyrdom of Threlfall nothing was done towards evangelising the tribes of Great Namaqualand. In 1833 a missionary meeting was held in Simon's Town at which a certain James Nisbett, an Indian Government official, presided. The narrative of Threlfall's death greatly touched him, and he pleaded powerfully for a renewed effort to enter the closed field. His promises of pecuniary assistance encouraged the Committee to make another attempt to occupy Great Namaqualand, and in 1834 Edward Cook proceeded thither. Cook was a man of intrepid character and undoubted piety. He attached himself to the nomad tribe of the Bondelzwarts, and selected Warm Bath, called after that time Nisbett Bath in honour of their benefactor, as his base of operations. His labours were of the most arduous description. At the commencement his message encountered strenuous opposition, and seemed to leave no lasting impression upon the hardened consciences of his hearers. In course of time, however, his patient efforts produced rich fruit. Attendances at the services increased. Ear and heart were opened for the Gospel message. A godly sorrow for sin was apparent, working repentance and leading to the joy of salvation. After nine years of unceasing toil Cook's health, originally of the most robust, gave way. He set out for Cape Town, hoping there to receive that medical attention which the rough life of the mission field denied him. But the end

¹ Shaw: "Memorials," p. 235.

came before the Orange River was reached. As he lay utterly enfeebled in his wagon, his friend Joseph Tindall said to him :—

“ Brother Cook, is Christ precious to you ? ” The dying man lifted his eyes, now heavy in death, and murmured :—

“ Tindall, I have a good hope through Christ.”

He was laid to rest among his flock at Nisbett Bath.

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XVIII.

THE KAFRARIAN MISSION.

Another important sphere of work now claims our attention. The year 1820 is one of the turning-points in the history of the Cape Colony. Some three years previously the question had been mooted of an immigration on a large scale, and at length, in 1820, the project took definite shape. The Imperial Parliament voted the sum of £50,000 for carrying out the scheme. Out of an immense number of applicants some 1600 men, who were accompanied in most cases by their wives and children, were selected. They were divided into companies, presided over by some person of authority, and one of the largest of these companies was that known as the Sephton company. To this was attached the Rev. William Shaw, a Wesleyan clergyman, who thus enters the scope of this narrative. The emigrants settled for the most part in the district of Albany, then known as the Zuurveld, and the Sephton detachment occupied a valley some twenty-five miles south of Grahamstown, where they built themselves a neat village which received the name of Salem. This was the scene of the earliest ministry of William Shaw, who was no relation of, and must not be confounded with, the pioneer of the West, Barnabas Shaw.

With the story of William Shaw’s ministrations among the Albany settlers we have here no concern. But he possessed an eye also for the “regions beyond”. Shortly after his arrival he wrote from Salem : “ There is not a single missionary between my residence and the northern extremity of the Red Sea ”. Already he was planning a chain of stations, which should stretch from Salem to the port of Natal, a distance of 400 miles. In 1823 a commencement was made with this scheme. Accompanied by his noble wife, Shaw made his way to the Gunukwebe tribe, who occupied the tract of country between the Keiskama and Buffalo Rivers, and there estab-

CHAP. lished a station which was named Wesleyville. One of the XVIII. earliest results of the work at Wesleyville was the conversion of the chief Kama, who received baptism at one and the same time as his wife, a daughter of the great chief Gaika.

Some forty miles to the east of Wesleyville dwelt the powerful chieftain Ndlambe, and here Shaw decided to establish the second of his chain of stations. The commencement of the work at Mount Coke, as the new station was called, was entrusted to Stephen Kay. To him succeeded Samuel Young, whose labours, in particular, were richly blessed. The third link in the chain was Butterworth, founded among the Galeka tribe in 1827. It is inseparably linked with the name of the courageous and scholarly missionary W. J. Shrewsbury. The Galekas were under the rule of their brave but avaricious and cunning chief Hintza, whose duplicity embroiled him in constant troubles with neighbouring tribes and with the Government, and led to his violent death in 1835. As might have been expected from the character of such a chief, the history of Butterworth was a chequered one. Three times was the station laid in ruins, and three times did it arise from its ashes. The Galekas were slow to receive the Gospel, but among the Fingoes, who were remnants of tribes which had been driven south by the tyranny of Chaka, it found a readier entrance.

The fourth link of the chain of stations was forged by the establishment of Morley, at the kraal of Depa, a Pondo sub-chief. This Depa had European blood in his veins. His mother was a European woman who had been wrecked, about the middle of the eighteenth century, on the coast of Kafirland, and had become the wife of Depa's father. Her son could only remember that her name was Bessie. He was by this time an old man, who had often made urgent request for a missionary. "I am old," he said, "I am ill; let the missionary come that he may bury my bones." William Shepstone was the missionary whom old Depa had the privilege of welcoming before his death.

The fifth link of the chain was Clarkebury, near the Bashee River, which was founded in 1830 by Richard Haddy, a man of great energy, who was able to preach fluently in English, Dutch and Kafir. The Tembu tribe, under the direction of their chief Vossani, or Wolf's Cloak, occupied this area of

country, and at an early period the preaching of the Gospel produced a great impression. Many converts were made, and the power of heathenism was so weakened that the chiefs took alarm, and sought by all manner of means—by persuasion, by persecution, by the enticement of licentious dances—to win them back. The attempts for the most part failed; the Christians remained steadfast in the faith and endured nobly the reproach of Christ.

Seventy miles north of the Umtata River was established the sixth of the chain of stations, Buntingville. It lay among the Pondo tribe, then under the chieftainship of Faku. The chief listened readily enough to Shaw's proposal to supply him with a missionary, and on the arrival of William B. Boyce in 1830, assigned him a suitable spot for the erection of the necessary buildings. Boyce was a scholarly man, who made important contributions towards a fuller knowledge of the native language. It was he who discovered the principle known as the "Euphonic Concord," which governs not only the Kafir, but all Bantu languages. Before his time grammarians of the language had recognised that in the Kafir and cognate dialects the inflectional changes came, not at the end of the words, as in classical and European languages, but at the commencement. Boyce showed satisfactorily that in the Kafir sentence the noun was the governing element, and that all the other parts of speech were thrown immediately into an alliterative (or euphonic) concord with the governing noun. Boyce's "Kafir Grammar"—the first published—appeared in 1833 from the mission press in Grahamstown.

Thus were established six stations, forming a chain 200 miles in length from Wesleyville in the south to Buntingville in the north, and covering about half the distance between the former station and Port Natal. These stations suffered greatly in the many Kafir wars and inter-tribal feuds which prevailed in the first half of the nineteenth century. They were manned, however, by men of undaunted courage and true devotion; they were sustained by prayer and unremitting toil; and they continued among all the vicissitudes of fortune to spread abroad in their vicinity a savour of life unto life.¹

¹ For list of Wesleyan missionaries at work in 1839, see Appendix, *Note K.*

THE MISSION TO THE BECHUANA.

The history of the introduction of the Gospel among the Barolong tribe of the Bechuana people is as exciting and adventurous a page as any in the history of South African Missions. The pioneer of this mission was Samuel Broadbent, who after a brief stay in Little Namaqualand, was directed by the Committee to proceed to the country of the Bechuana. He reached Griquatown in the commencement of 1822, after an arduous and painful journey through the waterless wastes of Bushmanland. On this journey Broadbent met with an accident which occasioned serious internal injuries, and instead of proceeding northward from Griquatown, he was compelled to return for medical advice and treatment to Graaff Reinet. Here he and his wife were the guests for four months of the Rev. Abraham Faure, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, under whose hospitable roof he gradually regained a measure of health.

The second attempt to reach the Barolong was made in November, 1822. On this occasion Broadbent was accompanied by Thomas Hodgson and his wife, and the journey followed the northern road, passing the present towns of Colesberg and Philippolis. The Vaal River was crossed on rafts, and the expedition followed the course of the river in a north-westerly direction. One day the missionaries saw clouds of dust in the distance, and presently heard the lowing of cattle and the bleating of sheep, which proved to belong to a horde of the very Barolong whom they were in search of. Under their chief Sifonelo these Barolong were now in full flight before the dreaded Mantatees. The missionaries found it impossible to accompany the fugitive horde, and therefore remained near the Vaal River, waiting for a later and more suitable opportunity to evangelise the Barolong. The country through which they were passing was, at this time of the year, beautiful and fertile in the extreme. Game was plentiful, so that they had nothing to fear on the score of hunger. Wild animals also abounded, and the camp was often disturbed, not only at nights but even in broad daylight, by the roars and threatened attacks of lions. In Hodgson's journal, under the date 7 February, 1823, we find the following:—

I left my dear wife and child with Mr. Broadbent in a truly defenceless state. Accompanied by the two wagon-drivers, two Bechuana and the interpreter, I set out on my journey. Seeing a number of springbucks at some distance, I sent one of my attendants to shoot one for food, and passed on to some reeds growing in the bed of a periodical river. The man who was with me proceeded a little up the river to seek water, and saw eight lions—six full-grown and two cubs. When I was within sixty yards of the reeds in which the lions were concealed, he apprised me of my danger. I have been “in deaths oft,” but I cannot but regard this as a special instance of providential interference for my preservation. For had not the man changed his course, and thereby (in consequence of a bend in the river) reached a spot which gave him a sight of the lions, we must both have fallen victims.

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The remarkable thing about this providential deliverance is the fact that a friend of Hodgson's, named Willey, who lived in Nottinghamshire, England, was about this time greatly impressed by a dream, in which his friend in Africa appeared to him to be exposed in some imminent danger. He tried to banish the impression, and composed himself to sleep again, but in vain. At length he rose from his bed, and sank upon his knees in earnest prayer for the absent friend. Several months after, when Hodgson's journal was published in England, it was discovered that the time when Willey experienced his strange and disquieting dream coincided exactly with Hodgson's danger from the lions.

For some months nothing had now been heard of the Mantatees, and both Sifonelo and the missionaries cherished the hope that they would be spared the terror of an invasion by these savages. One morning, however, three weeks after the departure of Hodgson and his family for Griquatown, Broadbent was awakened by the noise of people shouting, dogs barking and cattle lowing, and saw in the twilight armed men hastily driving flocks and herds before them, and women grasping their children and loading themselves with portable chattels, in readiness for instant flight. On inquiry he ascertained that the Mantatees were approaching, and were no more than a few hours distant. The chief urged him to flee with them; but this was unhappily a matter of total impossibility for the missionary, who was himself in weak health, while his wife had two children on her hands, one of them only a few weeks old. Sifonelo manifested the greatest concern as to the missionary's

CHAP. condition, and for two hours continued to urge him, though XVIII. vainly, to take to flight. Broadbent and his family were accordingly left behind, with a few personal servants, who soon seized the opportunity to desert, leaving the Europeans wholly helpless. Sifonelo's scouts were despatched from time to time to give the missionary information as to the movements of the Mantatees ; but with this exception they saw and heard nothing during several weeks. At length the tilts of two wagons appeared unexpectedly over the ridge, and in a few minutes they were able to welcome Hodgson, who had heard of their perilous position, and had hastened from Griquatown to their relief.

The following extract from Hodgson's journal will give some conception of the dangers and alarms which surrounded the undaunted missionaries on every side :—

The retreating enemy having taken the direction of Maquassi, where we had left Mr. Broadbent and his family, ignorant of his danger and without the means of flight, it appeared at once a clear duty to relieve them from their most distressing situation. . . . It was by no means certain, indeed, that I should not have to return with the distressing intelligence that they were all murdered, and thus my journey prove to be in vain ; but I was, nevertheless, bound by duty to God, to the Church and to my colleague, to venture upon the perils obviously connected with it.

August 3rd.—I set off for Maquassi, and having travelled till a late hour to reach where were both grass and water, we wandered about in the dark for some time. Next morning we rose early, and soon came to the place where we had designed to sleep. On approaching the wood I was surprised to behold a fire, at which two females were occupied in cooking, while a man lay, apparently asleep, near them. The two women attempted to conceal themselves under a bush, supposing that we should pass them unobserved. Upon going near the fire we found them employed in cooking the leg of a human being. Before our departure I again approached them. One of the women was then roasting part of the leg upon the coals, and the other was engaged with the man in eating with savage greediness the portion which had just been cooked. I was sick at the sight, and felt what I cannot describe, especially on seeing the man break the bones of the deceased with a stone, and suck them with apparent delight.¹

Approaching some trees in the evening where we designed to rest for

¹ It must not be concluded from this gruesome description that the Mantatees, or indeed any other Bantu tribe in South Africa, were habitual cannibals. It was apparently only the devastation caused by war, and the consequent complete absence of food, that drove some to such practices.

the night, the oxen took fright at a lion which attempted to seize one of them in the yoke. The frightened animals overturned and broke one of the wagons, and greatly endangered our personal safety while galloping into the plain. After having with much difficulty succeeded in stopping them, we immediately made a fire and set the dry grass on fire around, to deter the lion from approaching ; and then we made our arrangements for the night as well as we could. One of our boys was nearly seized by another lion while gathering a little dry grass ; two oxen were killed ; and we were all much disturbed during the night by the roar of wild beasts around us.

August 5th.—We succeeded in the afternoon of this day in getting away from this disastrous spot. In the course of our journey we were joined by two of Sifonelo's people, who had been watching the movements of the enemy, and who informed us that they were not far distant, in three divisions, but were retiring up the Vaal River.¹

On the 6th *August* we reached Maquassi, and found Mr. Broadbent as usual and his family in health. While I rejoiced at their safety, they were filled with gratitude to God for bringing me to their relief. The Lord had graciously concealed from them the knowledge of their danger for the greater part of the time I was absent from them ; but brought me to their relief soon after they had become aware of its extent. Their faith in God was put to a most painful test, and it was only strong confidence in Him, and the sustaining power of Divine consolation, that enabled the whole family to maintain that calm and resigned state of mind in which we found them.²

The subsequent history of the Barolong mission can be given in brief outline only. In 1824 the Committee directed Hodgson to proceed to Cape Town, and sent James Archbell from the Kamiesbergen to assist Broadbent. The latter felt very deeply the loss of his beloved colleague, with whom he had braved so many perils. His (Broadbent's) health had never been good since the accident which overtook him on the journey from Namaqualand, and before Archbell's arrival, he felt himself compelled to undertake a journey to the Eastern Province for reasons of health. The station at Maquassi was thus temporarily deserted ; and it was during this period that the Barolong were attacked by a neighbouring tribe, the Batau, who defeated them, burnt Maquassi to the ground, and completely destroyed the mission buildings and property.

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¹ It will be remembered that this was subsequent to the defeat inflicted on them by Waterboer and his Griquas, which occurred on 23 June. See p. 160.

² Quoted in Broadbent: "The Barolongs of South Africa," pp. 69 seqq. (some sentences omitted).

CHAP. Under Archbell's guidance the remnant of the Barolong tribe settled at the Plat Berg (Flat Mountain), near the present village of Warrenton. Here the old chief Sifonelo died, but the tribe, under the fostering influence of peace and safety, greatly increased, until it counted some 10,000 members. The mission also prospered. Religious services were regularly held and well attended; a school was opened, and a printing-press erected.

Hodgson, in the meantime, had been suffered to return to his first love, the work in Bechuanaland. After co-operating with Archbell for some years, he and his family proceeded in 1828 to the Griquas who were living at Boetsap, in the present district of Barkly West. Here they were subjected at first to much discomfort and many privations; but eventually the heart of the people was won for the Gospel, and large numbers were added to the Church of Christ. On the failure of Mrs. Hodgson's health, they relinquished the work, which was continued with faithfulness and much success by John Edwards.

In 1833 an important step was undertaken by the community of the Plat Berg. Water and pasturage were scarce, and the rapid increase of the tribe made removal to a more fertile locality imperative. It was therefore resolved that an expedition should explore the country to the east, which was richer in pasture and infinitely better supplied with water. Archbell and Edwards accompanied the exploring party, which followed the course of the Modder River and lived from the chase. Human beings there were none in the district traversed, but game of all kinds abounded, and fell an easy prey to the flint-lock guns of the explorers. On the tenth day after their departure they reached Thaba Nchu, the "Mount of Blackness," and here they resolved to settle. An agreement was drawn up and signed by which Moshesh, the Basuto chieftain, and Sikonyela, the head of the Mantatee tribe, ceded to the new-comers a portion of territory twenty-five miles square.¹ This done, the expedition returned to Plat Berg, whence the removal of the whole of the inhabitants, 12,000 in number, was speedily effected.

Mission stations were shortly after formed among the rem-

¹ This historical document is still in existence in the Deeds Registry at Bloemfontein. The text will be found in the Appendix, *Note L.*

nant of the once powerful Mantatee tribe—at Impukani, CHAP.
Imparani, Mating and Inkatla; as well as among the Basuto XVIII.
at Korannaberg. Thus were the missionaries enabled to
“heap coals of fire” on the heads of the very tribe whose
ravages had caused them such anxiety, and had well-nigh de-
stroyed their early work among the Barolong. All things were
seen, in the end, to have worked together for the furtherance
of the kingdom of Christ. The tribes which had been broken
up by war, and decimated by famine and pestilence, lost much
of their warlike spirit and proud independence, and became re-
ceptive for the preaching of the Gospel of peace and good-will.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE SCOTTISH MISSIONS.

The hand that rounded Peter's dome,
And groined the aisles of Christian Rome,
Wrought in a sad sincerity :
 Himself from God he could not free ;
 He builded better than he knew ;—
 The conscious stone to beauty grew.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

CHAP. NO more convincing testimony to the remarkable spread of the
XIX. missionary motive among the Churches of Christendom can
be adduced than the attitude of the Scotch Church towards
foreign mission work at the end of the eighteenth and the end
of the nineteenth centuries respectively. Whereas, at the close
of the latter century the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland
were contributing £170,000 per annum for foreign missions,
the General Assembly of 1796—a century earlier—adopted the
resolution :—

To spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel amongst barbarous
and heathen nations seems to be highly preposterous, in so far as
philosophy and learning must in the nature of things take the precedence ;
and that, while there remains at home a single individual without the
means of religious knowledge, to propagate it abroad would be improper
and absurd.¹

From this resolution, it is right to say, some members of
the Assembly strongly dissented, and Dr. Erskine rose and
called : “ Mr. Moderator, rax (hand) me that Bible,”—from
which he proceeded to read, with extraordinary effect upon his
audience, the words of the Great Commission (Matt. XXVIII. 18-
20). On the whole, however, the words of the resolution
summed up the attitude of the Scotch Church of the eighteenth
century towards the mission cause.

¹ Quoted in Warneck's “ Outline of Protestant Missions,” Eng. trans., p. 97.

Under such inauspicious circumstances no other course lay open for those in whose hearts burned the flame of missionary enthusiasm but to form themselves into a non-official society for the prosecution of mission work. Thus arose, in the same year in which the condemnatory resolution of the Assembly was passed, the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Scottish Missionary Society. The moving spirit of the Glasgow Society was, for many years, the Rev. Dr. John Love, who had previously acted as Secretary to the London Missionary Society. Though not one of the original founders, this eminent mission friend joined the Board of the Glasgow Society in 1800, and exercised, until his death in 1825, a controlling influence over its policy.

For the first twenty-four years the record of the Glasgow Society was one of failure and disappointment. The attempt to found a mission in Sierra Leone was abortive. In these early stages of missionary enterprise the supply of suitable men was lamentably deficient, and those who were accepted and sent out proved in many cases unworthy of the trust committed to them. At length, in 1820, when the Board was seriously considering the question of a mission to India, their attention was unexpectedly directed to another field, South Africa namely. It fell on this wise: there was at that time a great dearth of ministers for the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Colony, and the Government of the Colony had delegated Dr. George Thom,¹ the respected minister of Caledon, to obtain from Scotland a supply of clergymen and teachers. Dr. Thom succeeded in securing for the Dutch Reformed Church the services of the Rev. Andrew Murray, who subsequently became minister of Graaff Reinet, and the Rev. Alexander Smith, who was appointed to Uitenhage. At the same time he engaged as missionary the Rev. William Ritchie Thomson, who had already been accepted as a candidate for the foreign field by the Glasgow Board, but now proceeded to South Africa for the Cape Government. Mr. Thomson was given a free passage out, and he received in addition a grant of £60 for the purchase of agricultural implements and seeds, it being the purpose of the Government to establish an industrial mission on the confines of Kafraria.

¹ See p. 139.

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A few years previously a missionary of the London Society named Joseph Williams had settled among Gaika's people, as Van der Kemp had done sixteen years earlier, in the hope of gaining their goodwill. After two years of devoted labour, with however no apparent fruit, Williams died in 1818. The Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, thereupon determined, in view of the desirability of maintaining amicable relations with Gaika, to station another missionary at or near that chief's kraal. Overtures were accordingly made to the Rev. John Brownlee, until recently a missionary of the London Society, to proceed to Kafraria as missionary and Government representative combined. This appointment Brownlee had seen fit to accept, and he established himself in the Valley of the Chumie in 1820, where he was joined by Thomson as coadjutor in the following year. Thomson was accompanied by John Bennie as lay missionary, and not many months subsequently their number was augmented by the arrival of the Rev. John Ross. In 1823 there were accordingly four missionaries settled among Gaika's people, two of them being at the same time Government agents.

It fell to the lot of Ross and Bennie, as acting directly and solely for the Glasgow Board, to lay the foundations, in 1824, of a new station some eight miles from the Chumie, and to it they gave the name of Lovedale, in honour of the venerated secretary of their Society. Lovedale was from the very first identified with special educational effort on behalf of the natives. The missionaries one and all were impressed with the need of a careful intellectual training, and began almost immediately to lay the foundations of a native literature. In its production and dissemination they were greatly assisted by a small printing-press which Ross had brought out with him from Scotland. The erection of the Lovedale station was followed by the establishment of similar centres of missionary activity at Balfour, Pirie and Burnhill, but the work at the first mentioned of these soon came to an end. Meanwhile the ranks of the mission staff had been increased by the addition of the Rev. William Chalmers and Messrs. James Weir and Alexander McDiarmid.

A period of storm and stress passed over the mission during the continuance of the Kafir War of 1834-35, and the posi-

tion of the missionaries was one of great danger. Towards the close of 1834 a body of between 12,000 and 15,000 Kafirs flung itself unexpectedly upon the eastern districts and their unsuspecting inhabitants. Within a few days the whole territory between the Kafrarian border and the Sunday River was laid waste, and every unarmed and defenceless white man murdered, though the women and children were allowed to escape with their lives. In the course of the next few weeks hundreds of farmhouses were laid in ruins, horses, cattle and sheep swept off by the hundred thousand, and altogether property to the value of £300,000 borne off or destroyed. During this anxious time the missionaries occupied a precarious and unenviable position. They could not but condemn this unprovoked raid upon the colonists and the bloodshed to which it gave rise, while outwardly they were forced to maintain an appearance of loyalty to the chiefs upon whose good-will they were dependent. Brownlee and his family made their escape under cover of night to the Wesleyville station, whence they were rescued, together with a number of whites, by a body of Port Elizabeth volunteers. Chalmers and Weir, with their families, were conducted in like manner to Fort Adelaide by a military patrol. The Pirie missionaries made their way to Burnhill, where they remained under the powerful protection of Sutu, the great widow of Gaika, who had always shown marked kindness to white people. From Burnhill they were eventually all fetched to Grahamstown, at which place they were harboured until the cessation of hostilities. Altogether the missions of both the Wesleyan and the Glasgow societies received a serious set-back from the war of 1834-35, and it was matter of no small grievance to the men who had suffered gladly the loss of their earthly goods, to find at the conclusion of the war that, owing to the wave of hyper-philanthropy, the sympathies of their friends and supporters in England and Scotland had been largely estranged from them, and bestowed upon those who had been distinctly the aggressors in the recent conflict, namely, the Kafirs.¹

The end of the war saw the Lovedale station in ruins. The question now arose whether it should be rebuilt on the

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¹ See p. 149 and Appendix, *Note M.*

CHAP. same or on another site. Considerations of water-supply led XIX. to its being re-erected on the west bank of the Chumie River, which has remained its situation to this day.

The year 1840 witnessed a great development in the scope of the work at Lovedale. At the instigation of the missionaries, the Directors in that year decided on the establishment of a seminary for the purpose of training native teachers and evangelists, as well as with the object of providing a good education for the missionaries' children. The necessary buildings were completed for the sum of £900, and the Rev. William Govan sent out from Scotland to stand at the head of the new institution. The formal opening took place on 21 July, 1841, in the presence of representatives of various denominations, a number of white colonists and goodly crowds of natives. Ten natives and nine youths of European descent formed the first students admitted. Two characteristic features of the Lovedale institution have been maintained up to the present day : *first*, no distinction is made between native, coloured person, European or colonial-born—all alike enjoying the same educational advantages ; *second*, the institution is conducted on strictly undenominational lines and is free from all tinge of proselytism.

Fresh troubles were, however, in store for Lovedale. In 1846 the so-called "War of the Axe" broke out. A Kafir who had stolen an axe was being conveyed to Grahamstown for trial, when he was rescued on the way by a band of armed natives. A contemptuous refusal to hand him over to justice precipitated hostilities between the Government and the natives. Lovedale being almost in the centre of the area of disturbance, suffered not a little during the war. The buildings were converted into a fort ; the carefully kept gardens were used as a cattle-kraal ; the commonage surrounding the institution was eaten up and well-nigh wholly destroyed. The missionaries of this and the other stations passed a second time through a period of great anxiety. The Chalmers family, to mention a single instance, escaped to Fort Armstrong with only the clothes they stood in and some bedding. At the end of the war Chalmers's station was a blackened ruin : he himself toiled on for some time longer in a disheartened fashion, was attacked by dysentery, and succumbed to that disease at the early age of 45.

Govan had in the meantime resigned his position at Love-

dale, and retired to Scotland, taking with him a Kafir youth named Tiyo Soga, who returned to South Africa at a subsequent date as the Rev. Tiyo Soga, to prosecute for many years his earnest and self-denying labours on behalf of his fellow-natives. For some years Govan occupied a charge in Scotland, but on the re-organisation of the Lovedale work, he returned, in 1850, to resume his duties as head of the institution. The various missionaries had by this time re-occupied their stations, being encouraged to do so by the friendly attitude of the Government, as evinced in the following proclamation :—

Whereas—the Proclamation of 23rd December, 1847, defines the future condition and rule of the Kafirs in British Kafraria, and the Kafir chiefs have submitted thereto, all missionaries are invited to return to their missions ; and, that no misunderstanding or misconception may arise, Her Majesty's High Commissioner gives notice that the land of their mission stations shall be held from Her Majesty, and not from any Kafir chief whatever. Every facility will be given, and every aid afforded, to the missionaries conducive to the great object in view, namely, conversion to Christianity and civilisation. And those laudable gentlemen may rely on the utmost support and protection the High Commissioner may have it in his power to afford.¹

Not for long was the Lovedale Institution suffered to develop itself on the lines newly laid down before a recrudescence of the native troubles again threw things out of gear. In the course of 1850 events transpired which forced the frontier colonists to the belief that another Kafir war was imminent. Kafir servants began to leave their white masters and return to their tribes, and it was ascertained that a medicine-man named Umlanjeni was busy fomenting rebellion. The first collision took place at the Boomah Pass, where a strong force of soldiers was unexpectedly attacked by thousands of Kafirs ; and though the enemy was at length beaten off, twenty-three of the force were killed and as many wounded. It was an inauspicious commencement to a struggle which was incomparably the most serious waged by the Colony with the Kafir tribes. The natives immediately proceeded to attack the military posts along the Chumie River, murdered no less than eighty-four men who were unsuspecting of any danger, and wiped all the European villages in the Chumie valley out of existence.

¹ Quoted in Young : "African Wastes Reclaimed," p. 66.

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During the whole of 1851 the war dragged its weary length along. Sir Harry Smith, under whom the conflict commenced, and who was one of the best and most popular administrators South Africa has seen, was recalled for not quenching the flames of rebellion earlier. Under his successor, Sir George Cathcart, the war was finally brought to a close. The mission had again suffered most serious losses. Burnshill and Pirie had been destroyed by fire; but Lovedale, through being used as a fort, had escaped that fate. That the labours and admonitions of the Scotch and other missionaries had not been fruitless, was evidenced by the fact that some 1500 converts to Christianity, belonging to the various missions, had consistently refused to join the insurgents, and had retired for safety to King William's Town, where they remained until the close of hostilities.

While the development of the mission was thus proceeding amid many hardships and reverses, the constitution of the governing body in the homeland was undergoing radical transformation. In 1843 the ten years' conflict between the two sections of Scotch Presbyterianism had resulted in the establishment of the "Free Church of Scotland". When this was made known the missionaries in South Africa assembled to take counsel together. With perfect unanimity they decided to cast in their lot with "their beloved Scottish Zion," the Free Church. In 1845 the General Assembly of the Free Church took up the Glasgow Missionary Society as an integral part of its Foreign Missions Scheme, and the direction of mission concerns was placed under the Church's Foreign Missions Committee. The work in South Africa was thus united by a closer bond with the Church at home in its corporate capacity, and the anomalous Glasgow Society—which, however, had done excellent and much-appreciated work—was eliminated. Henceforth the Church as such had a direct interest in, and a direct responsibility for, its mission work in South Africa, in India, and elsewhere.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FRENCH MISSION TO BASUTOLAND.

The Church must have a new age of heroism ; and if she does not, as at other epochs, find all the elements of it ready-made in the ardent and frantic hate of kings and nations ; if that arena be lacking to her, she must find another ; she, whom the Spirit of God has sometimes taught to find peace in war, must at the present time learn to find war in the midst of peace.—ALEXANDER VINET.

THE first missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society arrived in South Africa in the year 1829. They were the Revs. Isaac Bissex, Samuel Rolland and Prosper Lemue. The first mentioned was persuaded to settle in the Wagon-maker's Valley, now Wellington, in order to devote himself to the spiritual training of the slaves and Hottentots, and there he continued for many years to prosecute his successful labours. Messrs. Rolland and Lemue, who were shortly after joined by the Rev. Jean Pierre Pellissier, journeyed northward to the Bechuanaland, and attempted to establish a mission among the Bahurutsi, who were then settled at Mosega, a day or two's journey south of Moselekatse's chief kraal on the upper Marico River.

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They were received with demonstrations of gratitude by the Bahurutsi, but the chief of the latter, Mokatla by name, was in complete subjection to the all-powerful Matabele chieftain, and whether or no the missionaries could continue in the country was dependent upon Moselekatse's nod or frown. Nor was it long before a deputation of *indunas* appeared at Mokatla's kraal to command the attendance of the missionaries before the overlord of the land. Pellissier was delegated to return with Moselekatse's councillors. He proceeded at once to the chief's kraal, where he was received with a great show of kindness, and, after being hospitably entertained, was allowed to return in safety. Moselekatse was, however, not yet satis-

CHAP. fied. He insisted upon seeing all the missionaries. This was
 XX. taken to mean that he had decided upon their ruin. They therefore prudently withdrew to the London Missionary Society's station at Lithako, and the whole of the Bahurutsi tribe dispersed in terror. The scattered remnants were gathered together at a place called Motito, near Kuruman, and here the missionaries founded a station, and continued for many years their self-denying labours (1832).

Meanwhile the Revs. Thomas Arbousset and Eugène Casalis, together with an artisan missionary named Constant Gosselin, were on the waters to reinforce the three men already at work. Great was their disappointment to learn, on their arrival in Table Bay, that the Bahurutsi tribe had been completely broken up, and that only a scattered and impoverished remnant was being ministered to by the three pioneers. It appeared to the new arrivals that there was no prospect of conducting a mission among the un-evangelised tribes of Central South Africa, owing to the tyranny and ravages of Moselekatkase.

But another door, and an effectual one, was about to open to them. An event of great interest, which had occurred some months before the advent of the second party of Paris missionaries, was brought to the notice of Dr. Philip. In the mountains of the territory subsequently known as Basutoland dwelt a petty chief named Moshesh,¹ who had acquired among the surrounding tribes considerable fame as a military strategist. Out of the fragments of tribes which had been broken up by the Matabele advance, he was gradually collecting and consolidating a little native State. His stronghold was the impregnable mountain of Thaba Bosiu,² which even a Matabele army proved unable to capture. Moshesh had heard of the

¹ As an example of the manner in which natives change their names in the course of their life, it may be stated that this chief's name was originally *Lepoko* ("dispute") because he was born in a time of civil dissension; at his circumcision he assumed the name of *Tlaputle* ("the busy one") on account of his activity and initiative; when his prowess was finally acknowledged he became *Msheshwe* or *Moshesh* ("the shaver") because he had "shaved the beards" of all his rivals. (*Cf.* Isa. vii. 20.)

² "Thaba Bosiu" signifies "Mount of the Night". In mentioning this to the Home Society, the missionaries observe: "Ce nom, nous l'espérons, cessera bientôt d'être applicable à l'endroit qu'il désigne. Nous prendrons alors pour devise: *Post tenebras lux.*"

settlement of missionaries among the tribes of the coast and among those of the central portions of the country, and the report of what these white men were able to perform lost nothing in the telling. When natives related the story of Moffat's visit to Moselekatse, and of the extraordinary influence which he appeared to exercise over that dreaded warrior, it was firmly believed that such influence could only have been acquired by one who was possessed of magical powers. The change also in the condition of the Griquas, who had developed under the guidance of the missionaries, from a nomad tribe into a wealthy agricultural community, made a deep impression upon the astute and observant Moshesh. He became exceedingly anxious to possess as his own such wise and far-seeing men as these white missionaries were.

Accordingly he sent an embassy to Adam Kok, the chief of the Philippolis Griquas, with 200 head of cattle for the purchase of a missionary. The cattle were unfortunately driven off by a marauding band of Koranna Hottentots, but the embassy made its way to Kok's kraal and delivered its message. The story came to Dr. Philip's ears about the time of the arrival of the second party of French missionaries, and the latter, rightly deeming this a call of God, determined to seek out the "Chief of the Mountain," who had evinced so keen a desire for a missionary.

Messrs. Casalis, Arbousset and Gosselin made their way safely to Philippolis, where Kok supplied them with further information concerning Moshesh, and then they headed straight for Thaba Bosiu. They found Moshesh's tribe, the Basuto, settled beside the course of the Caledon River, with the Batlokua tribe, between whom and the Basuto there was a feeling of constant and bitter enmity, along its upper reaches. Game was abundant, but the population was as yet but sparse. Nevertheless, the contrast between the state of the mountainous regions they had now reached, and that of the comparatively level portion they had passed through after leaving Philippolis, was most marked. Of the latter region, corresponding to the southern part of the present Free State, Casalis says:—

What struck us most particularly was the solitary and desolate aspect of the country. Vainly did our eyes wander in search of hamlets and groups of labourers, so naturally associated in the mind with the idea of

CHAP. a fertile and variegated soil. Human bones, whitening in the sun and rain, XX. appeared on all sides ; and more than once we were obliged to turn out of the way in order that the wheels of our wagon might not pass over these sad remains. When we asked our guides where the proprietors of this country lived, they pointed to a few miserable huts at the top of the steepest mountains.¹

When, however, the missionaries drew near to the residence of the "Chief of the Mountain" a change for the better came over the scene.

We began to meet with considerable flocks, grazing under the care of well-armed shepherds, and we observed fields apparently cultivated with care. A messenger whom we had sent before us had spread the news of our speedy arrival ; and the inhabitants of the hamlets that lay in our path ventured out to look at these extraordinary white men who, it was said, would repair all past disasters. . . . We found it was not without reason they had given the name of "Chief of the Mountain" to the sovereign of the Basutos. His principal town was, and is still, situated on the table-land of Thaba Bosiu, a mountain in the form of a pentagon, and completely fortified by Nature. We were welcomed with every demonstration of joy ; and the first few days were devoted to explaining to our new acquaintances the object that we had in view. It was no easy matter to make these heathen—absorbed as they were with material things—feel the benefit they would derive, in a temporal point of view, from the diffusion of Christian doctrines. . . . No obstacle, however, can frustrate the purposes of the Almighty. He inspired the Basutos and their chief with perfect confidence in our good intentions. This unhappy people, who had been so many years a prey to misfortune, welcomed with delight the first ray of hope that dawned upon them.²

The missionaries found it inconvenient to settle at Thaba Bosiu, where the river flowed too deeply to be diverted from its course for agricultural purposes. The chief bade them choose a site in any part of his domains, and set out with them on a quest for the most suitable position for a mission station. They selected a beautiful valley distant some twenty-four miles south of Thaba Bosiu, and here, in 1834, they laid the foundation of their first station, to which the name of Morija (Moriah) was given. On the day after their arrival they set about constructing their first dwelling, which was indeed little better than a native hut. At this stage the experience and practical knowledge of the artisan Gosselin proved invaluable to the party, for Casalis and

¹ Casalis : "The Basutos," p. 13.

² Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

Arbousset evinced but little skill in handling the axe and the spade. Their abode was soon ready for occupation, and was taken possession of with every token of joy and admiration by the men who had spent so many months in wagons. On the first evening they decided to illuminate their wattle-and-daub cabin with one of their little stock of candles, and this candle, strange to say, appeared to the wondering natives one of the most marvellous of all the white man's inventions. "They were never weary," says Casalis, "of coming in the evening to contemplate this charming little tongue of fire which was sufficient to light our apartment."

The hut upon which they so prided themselves only served them until the rainy season set in, when it proved to be by no means impervious to the torrential downpours of those mountainous regions. They therefore set about the erection of a stone building, twenty-four feet by eighteen in size, which stood them in better stead. They were exposed, during the early months and years of their sojourn, to all those dangers and privations which fall to the lot of missionaries everywhere. Lions and hyænas made nocturnal attacks upon their folds, and committed the most serious depredations; domesticated animals invaded their wheat-fields and destroyed the promising crops; their European provisions ran short, and they were obliged to content themselves with locusts, ostrich eggs and the flesh of game, without the customary seasoning of salt, without vegetables and without bread.

In the intervals of manual toil, the missionaries were devoting themselves with great assiduity to acquiring the native language. They discovered that it contained a considerable number of affinities to the language spoken by the Bechuana in the central portion of South Africa, and in their studies they received much assistance from the translations which Moffat had published, and from a brief grammar which had been prepared by their colleagues at Motito.

At about this time the French missionaries arrived at the conclusion that there was not much promise in the work among the Bahurutsi at Motito, and Pellissier set on foot inquiries as to a suitable sphere in which to open a new mission. On Dr. Philip's initiative, an effort was being made to instruct some

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CHAP. XX. degraded Bushmen, and to induce them to adopt a more settled form of life. The venture not proving a success, Philip was glad to hand over the site of the Bushman mission to Pellissier. The latter re-named the station, which was situated a little to the north of the Orange River, near its confluence with the Caledon River, Bethulie. Here he gathered the fugitive remnants of a Batlaping tribe, under their chieftain Lepui. Their numbers were soon after reinforced by some refugee Barolong, and so the new station, between which and the Basutoland station there existed from the first a close relationship, grew rapidly in importance. When Casalis visited it, a few months after the foundation of Morija, the inhabitants had already erected their huts and cleared a great extent of ground for lands and gardens. More than three hundred were present at Divine service on the Sabbath, and this number could have been doubled if the building in which they met had been sufficiently large. Pellissier and his wife had also commenced a school, which was well attended; and it was characteristic of the moral and material advance of the natives that a considerable number of women and girls were endeavouring, under Mrs. Pellissier's guidance, to manufacture for themselves clothing which was more in accord with Christian ideas of decency than their native garments.

At Bethulie Casalis also met for the first time his elder colleague Rolland, who was just returning from Cape Town with his newly wedded wife. Rolland sketched the plans he had formed for the future, and announced his intention of proceeding to visit Moselekatse. He was also anxious to carry Casalis with him as a co-labourer, with an eye to inaugurating a mission in the territory of the Matabele chieftain, but the younger man saw no reason for quitting the work in Basutoland, to which they had been so providentially guided, for an unknown and uncertain field in the distant north.

Rolland's scheme for establishing a mission among the Matabele came to nothing. Moselekatse's interminable wars, his ferocity, the despotic nature of his government, alike made it impossible for white men to form a permanent settlement in the neighbourhood of his kraal. Rolland accordingly decided to move southward, and to commence a station on the banks of the Caledon. Taking leave of Mr. and Mrs. Lemue at

Motito, he and his wife crossed the Vaal (not without difficulty, owing to its swollen condition), and journeyed to Bethulie. From there they made their way along the course of the Caledon, selecting as the site of their station a spot on its east bank, some miles distant from the present town of Smithfield. To this place they gave the name of Beersheba. It lay nearly half-way between the two stations already established, Morija and Bethulie. With that wisdom and foresight which characterised him, Moshesh approved of the establishment of this new settlement, seeing that it stood under the supervision of white men who were closely united to those already settled at Morija.

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It must be remembered that at this time—in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century—the wars of extermination which had been carried on by Chaka, Dingaan and Moselekatse had resulted in the displacement and in many cases the complete destruction of the native tribes of South-east and Central South Africa. As regards Central South Africa, which now is our chief concern, the tribes of the Bahurutsi, Bakwena, Bakhatla, Bangwaketsi, and Barolong were wholly broken up, and in the territory they had occupied there was—to use the expression used at a later stage by one of the dispossessed chiefs—"no other master but Moselekatse and the lions". The scattered survivors of these once flourishing tribes had either withdrawn to the sterile and barren Kalahari Desert, where the Matabele warriors could not follow them, or they wandered about the depopulated country seeking an uncertain means of existence, but afraid to build up a settled community, lest that also should draw the attention, and excite the cupidity and lust for blood, of Moselekatse's braves. The only form of settlement which promised comparative peace and protection was that presided over by white missionaries. For this reason numbers of impoverished and often starving refugees flocked to the mission stations established by the men of the London, Wesleyan and French Missionary Societies. The fertile and well-watered country to the east, along the course of the Caledon, was a lodestone which drew many towards it. Hence it came about that Beersheba attracted many wandering families, and grew in numbers from day to day.

Another circumstance which contributed towards the rapid

CHAP. re-peopling of the uninhabited tracts adjoining the Basutoland
XX. mountains was the expulsion of those Basuto refugees who had taken shelter in the Cape Colony. After the conclusion of the Kafir war of 1834-35 Sir Benjamin Durban, urged by the desire to see the border districts as free as possible from native settlements, ordered the Basuto exiles who had sought an asylum within Cape Colony to return to their own country north of the Orange. Many of the Basuto complied with these instructions with extreme reluctance. They feared to return to a territory which they had left because bloodshed and pillage were rife in it, and those of them who had belonged to ruling families dreaded also the hostility of Moshesh. That chief, however, proclaimed a general amnesty, and expressed his readiness to receive the exiles back peaceably; and so these too helped to swell the number of natives now settled at Beersheba.

Another of the tribes which had suffered severely from Moselekatse's wars of devastation was that of the Bataung, which in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century was ruled over by an astute but insincere chieftain named Molitsane. In 1837 Molitsane, after many wanderings in the territory now known as the Free State, settled near the Caledon River as a vassal of Moshesh. The Rev. François Daumas, who had in the meantime arrived in South Africa, decided to labour among these Bataung, and with this object in view the station Mekuatling, near the present village of Ficksburg, was established.

In the following year it was found necessary to erect another station. From the commencement of the Basuto mission the missionaries had cherished the hope that the paramount chief would eventually settle at Morija. Moshesh was, however, too wise to be enticed from his stronghold at Thaba Bosiu, though he evinced his faith in the missionaries by sending his two eldest sons to establish themselves at Morija. It was decided accordingly, since Moshesh would not come to the mission station, to plant a mission station at his headquarters. For this purpose Casalis left Morija after a four years' sojourn to break new ground at Moshesh's mountain.

At the foot of this natural stronghold the artisan Gosselin erected, with the assistance of a few natives, a substantial

dwelling-house for Casalis and his lately wedded wife, who had been Miss Sarah Dyke. Here they remained in considerable solitude and isolation, until joined by a brother of Mrs. Casalis, the Rev. Hamilton M. Dyke. The work at Thaba Bosiu met from the first with a large amount of success. The natives, headed by their chief, attended Divine service on Sundays to the number of 400. The time between the morning and afternoon services was employed in diligently learning to read.

Men and women, young and old, applied themselves by means of spelling exercises and a little catechism that we had had printed in the Colony. These good people at first set to work with extreme reluctance, protesting that it was ridiculous to hope that a black man would ever be clever enough to "make the paper speak". But our entreaties prevailed, and they resolved to try: a slight improvement soon became visible, in spite of all that had been said to the contrary, and each meeting gave promise of still greater success. At length the grand problem was solved. One fine morning ten or twelve of our scholars discovered that they could, without any help, make out the meaning of several phrases which they had never read before.

The circumstance caused a tremendous sensation. The diviners declared that we must have "transformed the hearts" of their countrymen by means of some potent charm; but their resistance had no effect whatever. The fame of the wonders performed in our school reached the ears of Mokachane, the father of Moshesh—a scoffing and sceptical old man, who would have nothing to do with us. He laughed at this, as he did at everything else, till Moshesh became indignant at so much incredulity, and remonstrated with him.

"Lies, lies!" cried the stubborn old man; "I will never believe that words can become visible."

"Ah! do you not yet believe it?" answered his son; "well, we will prove it to you."

With these words he desired one of our best readers to withdraw.

"Now," said he, "think of something, and tell it to this white man; he will draw some marks on the sand, and we shall see."

The marks being made, the village scholar was called, and very soon made public the thoughts of Mokachane. The latter, more than stupefied, covered his mouth with his hand, and looked from one to another of those present, as if to assure himself that he had not been transported to an ideal world. At length, after having exhausted all the interjections of his language, he burst forth into a torrent of invective against his subjects and his family for not having informed him of the miracles which were being performed in his country.

"What!" said he to his son, "are you not eyes and ears to me? And you conceal such things from me?"

CHAP. In vain Moshesh protested that he had repeatedly told him of these
XX. things—the refractory old man was not to be reasoned with.¹

At other stations besides Thaba Bosiu the natives evinced a strong desire for instruction. At Bethulie, at Beersheba, and at Mekuatling, the school-buildings proved in every case too small for the number of scholars who flocked to them. At Morija the first ten scholars who had learned to read received, as a reward for their diligence, a copy each of the first book printed in the Sesuto language. The schools thus established were largely instrumental in spreading the doctrines of Christianity, which now became better understood and were widely discussed.² The spiritual results were not long in making their appearance. The first religious awakening occurred at Bethulie, and shortly after Beersheba shared in the great blessing. As the fruitage of this time of revival twenty-seven converts—the firstfruits of the Basuto nation—were baptised, and not long afterwards another forty-two were likewise admitted to membership in the visible Church of Christ.

The year 1845 was a time of great stress to the Société Evangéliques in France, and the anxiety of the Home Board was reflected in the work of the missionaries in the field. Three years later came the Revolution of 1848, which so disorganised the mission agencies at home that the missionaries abroad were reduced to extreme straits. The Mission House in Paris was closed and the pupils sent home; workers in the field were informed that no further reinforcements could be sent out; no large schemes could be undertaken, and the grants to individual missions were reduced to their narrowest limits. The missionaries in South Africa were landed in great difficulties; but happily they had many warm friends in the Cape Colony, who responded to an earnest appeal for funds by raising £900. This amount was subsequently augmented to £1400 by the gifts of friends in India, while sympathisers on the continent of Europe did not fail to show their interest in the mission in a like practical manner.

In spite of times of adversity—we might almost say *in consequence of* times of adversity—the mission in the Lesuto³ grew

¹ Casalis, op. cit., pp. 82 seqq. (abbreviated).

² See Appendix, Note N.

³ Ba-suto, the nation, or a number of individuals; Mo-suto, a single person; Le-suto, the country of the Ba-suto; Se-suto, the language of the Ba-suto.

steadily in importance and widespread influence. At the close of the first half of the nineteenth century eleven stations had already been occupied, viz., Motito (J. Frédoux), Bethulie (J. P. Pellissier), Morija (Messrs. Arbousset and Maeder), Beersheba (Messrs. Rolland and Ludorf), Thaba Bosiu (Casalis and Dr. J. P. Lautré), Mekuatling (Daumas), Berea (J. Maitin), Bethesda (Messrs. Schrumpf and Gosselin), Cana (D. Keck), Hebron (L. Cochet) and Carmel, where a Normal School had been established (Messrs. Lemue and Lauga). There were thus sixteen male missionaries in all, and more than 1200 natives had been received as members of the Church of Christ.

The arrival and settlement of the French Mission—and the statement is equally true of the London and Wesleyan Missions—must be regarded as a source of untold blessing to the natives from a material as well as from a religious point of view. The missionaries arrived in South Africa at a time when the country was being devastated by war and famine. Native tribes which had been dwelling in comparative peace and prosperity were rent asunder and dispersed by the ravages of the terrible Mantatees and more terrible Matabele. The remnants of these tribes were only saved from utter annihilation by the advent of the missionaries. The mere presence of the latter at the kraal or the encampment of a native chief was in itself a guarantee of safety, for even Moselekatse hesitated before attacking a community where it was known that one of the all-powerful white men had his abode.

Moreover, the missionaries were the counsellors of the chiefs under whom they dwelt and laboured. In many cases, indeed, the missionary was the uncrowned king of the community, able by his personal influence to persuade a whole tribe to move to more suitable sites and richer pasture-lands. The re-peopling of what is now the Eastern Free State is in great part due to the missionaries, who induced wandering tribes to cease their fugitive existence or their predatory career, and to adopt the settled life of agriculturists. The missionaries of the Paris Society, in short, were in a very real sense contributory towards the re-settlement of the territory along the Caledon River, the increase of Moshesh's power and prestige, and the consequent upbuilding of the Basuto nation.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF THE RHENISH MISSION.

NAMAQUALAND.

A land of deathful sleep, where fitful dreams
 Of hurrying spring scarce wake swift-fading flowers ;
A land of fleckless sky, and sheer-shed beams
 Of sun and stars, through day's and dark's slow hours ;
A land where sand has choked once fluent streams,
 Where grassless plains lie girt by granite towers
That fright the swift and heaven-nurtured teams
 Of winds that bear afar the sea-gleaned showers.
The wild Atlantic, fretted by the breath
 Of fiery gales o'er leagues of desert sped,
Rolls back, and wreaks in surf its thunderous wrath
 On rocks that down the wan, wide shore are spread;
The waves for ever roar a song of death,
 The shore they roar to is for ever dead.

WILLIAM CHARLES SCULLY.

CHAP. XXI. THE Rhenish Missionary Society was the offspring of a little prayer circle established in 1799 by twelve pious laymen in Elberfeld, one of the chief towns of the Rhine Province in Germany. For many years, and during all the troubrous period of the Napoleonic wars, these devoted men met regularly once a month to pray for the extension of the Kingdom of God. They also published from time to time their mission periodical, "*Nachrichten von der Ausbreitung des Reichen Jesu*" (*Accounts of the Extension of the Kingdom of Jesus*). The leader of the circle, Peltzer by name, set himself, at the age of 66, to master the English language, in order that he might gather from English missionary journals such items of interest as would be acceptable to the readers of the "*Nachrichten*". In course of time similar circles of mission friends arose in the neighbouring towns of Barmen, Wesel and Cologne, but, like the society at Elberfeld, they confined themselves to the task of awakening missionary interest and supporting missionary agencies already

at work. Certain tentative efforts were also made to commence mission work in the home field,—by the Elbersfeld society among the Jews, and by the Barmen circle among the gipsies.

Mission interest grew very rapidly, and in 1828 the union was effected of the four above-mentioned societies, the new body adopting the name of "Vereinigte Rheinische Missions Gesellschaft" (*United Rhenish Missionary Society*), which had for its avowed object "the training and sending forth of Christian missionaries to non-christian nations". From the first South Africa was looked upon as a possible field of labour. The attention of the Committee was drawn at this juncture to a notification in a Berlin paper that Dr. Philip was shortly to sail for South Africa with a party of missionaries, among which were the first three men of the Paris Missionary Society. To Dr. Philip accordingly a letter was addressed, asking whether he would also take under his care and guidance the men whom the Rhenish Society proposed to send out. The answer was an exceedingly hearty one. "No prospector," wrote the doctor, "searching high and low for hidden treasure, and coming unexpectedly upon a rich vein of gold, could have rejoiced more greatly than I did at the contents of your letter."

Eminently prompt and practical as he was, Philip proposed at the same time to go over to Germany and personally interview the promotores of the new undertaking. His answer was received by the Rhenish friends with tokens of the liveliest satisfaction. The conference between the two parties was duly held, and was followed on the next day by the solemn consecration and ordination of four young men—Von Wurmb, Leipoldt, Zahn and Lückhoff—to the service of God in the mission field. Immense interest was displayed in the proceedings by the Christian public, who contributed liberally towards the expenses of the mission by gifts in the shape of golden chains, rings, watches, and other ornaments, as well as by donations of money. At the ordination service no less than twenty-three ministers took part in the laying on of hands.

The mission party under Philip's charge sailed in July, 1829, in the "Charles Kerr," and reached Table Bay early in the following October. The young missionaries soon discovered that their idea of mission work differed widely from that of

CHAP. XXI. their English brethren. The industrious Germans contemplated the establishment of a station at some hitherto unoccupied spot, where they could induce the heathen to settle and receive instruction in various handicrafts. The ideal which they wished to realise was that of Genadendal and the other Moravian stations. Philip, on the other hand, studiously combated the idea that they could expect much application to manual toil on the part of the heathen, or hope to gather any very certain subsistence from agriculture or handicrafts.

THE EARLIEST STATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

On their arrival in South Africa two of the young missionaries were at once approached by the local missionary societies of Stellenbosch and Tulbagh, as Bisseux of the Paris Mission was by the friends at Wagonmaker's Valley, with the urgent request to devote themselves to the spiritual interests of the slaves at those places. Having no distinct instructions from the Home Committee, and looking upon these invitations as a clear call from God, the young men accepted the spheres of work offered them, Lückhoff proceeding to Stellenbosch and Zahn to Tulbagh. Von Wurmb meanwhile had journeyed north to the Ceederbergen (Cedar Mountains) in the present district of Clanwilliam, where he had found an exceedingly suitable site for a mission station. The mistaken idea that waste lands could be found on which to gather a native following and commence a mission, had to be relinquished. All the land was found to be either privately owned or in the possession of the Government. The owner of the farm in the Ceederbergen would not part with it for less than £600. The farm was purchased, not without considerable hesitation, and re-named Wupperthal. At the same time Von Wurmb secured a waste tract near the mouth of the Oliphants River, which received the name of Ebenezer, and which was maintained as a missionising centre, less on account of its fertility, which indeed was conspicuous by its absence, than by reason of its situation at the ford of the Oliphants River on the main road to Namaqualand.

To the development of the natural resources of Wupperthal Leipoldt devoted himself with great assiduity. True to

the principles of the Society, he made a commencement with various branches of industrial work. The garden and the fields were brought under cultivation, a mill was erected, industries such as tanning, blacksmithing and carpentry were begun. It was a matter of extreme difficulty to persuade the indolent and filthy Hottentots to undertake manual labour of any description, and an even more difficult task to keep them at it. But patience and forbearance, together with the exercise of a judicious discipline, effected great changes in the habits and character of the 200 Hottentots who were settled at the station.

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From the commencement, too, spiritual blessing attended the labours of the faithful missionaries at Wupperthal. During the first ten years, indeed, the growth of the little congregation, though steady, was comparatively slow. From 1830 to 1840 only thirty-five were baptised as Christians, though several who had received the rite of baptism elsewhere were admitted to membership. With the year 1840 a time of revival and spiritual refreshment dawned for both Wupperthal and Ebenezer. Visits from other missionaries of the Society, who were journeying to or from Namaqualand, were the immediate cause of the spiritual awakening. Large numbers of heathen expressed concern about the salvation of their souls, or desired to be admitted to the baptism class. Soon there was not a native hut on the station in which there was not some individual or other who had found peace in believing. During the early part of 1842 no less than sixty adults were admitted to baptism at Wupperthal. The revival even spread to the neighbouring (white) farmers, the first convert being the daughter of a wealthy but unbelieving Boer, —a girl who was driven by curiosity to visit a gathering of Hottentots at Ebenezer, where her heart was won for Christ.

While this growth was proceeding in the north, the work at Stellenbosch, under Lückhoff's wise and patient guidance, was likewise making steady progress. Assisted by his faithful wife, who had been Miss Susanna Albertyn, he visited the slaves in their hovels, and persuaded them to make an attempt to cleanse and improve their evil-smelling abodes, and to attend the services and evening schools which he had inaugurated. The emancipation of slaves on 1 December, 1838, was a red-

CHAP. letter day in the history of the Stellenbosch mission. The XXI. men and women who had been set free flocked from the various farms to the village, and the little church in which Lückhoff's congregation worshipped proved altogether too small to contain the crowds who sought edification and instruction. The Missionary Committee felt themselves bound to enlarge the building, which they did, thereby providing accommodation for 1200 persons.

Lückhoff was assisted by several devoted co-workers, among whom must be mentioned Widow Kähler, whose husband had been drowned before her eyes in the Breede River. In 1840 a new assistant arrived at Stellenbosch in the person of Louis François Esselen, a forceful and energetic personality, who soon made his influence felt in the whole of the Stellenbosch district. It was due to his enterprise that an important offshoot of the Stellenbosch mission, Sarepta (near Kuils River), was commenced, and has continued to be a station of the Rhenish Mission to this day. When in 1848 the Directors appointed Esselen to the charge of the station at Worcester, there was great excitement, and a quiet and determined resistance was offered by the Stellenbosch converts to the decision of the Directors. They resolutely refused to let their beloved teacher depart: only when it was pointed out that, so long as the missionaries were supported by the Rhenish Committee, there was no appeal from its decision, did they reluctantly desist.

MISSIONS TO LITTLE NAMAQUALAND AND THE KARREEBERGEN.

In 1840 the Rhenish Society penetrated into the barren wastes of Little Namaqualand, where the London Society had first missionised in 1805,¹ and the Wesleyans in 1816.² The first Rhenish missionary to the Namaqua Hottentots was Franz Kleinschmidt, who joined Schmelen, the veteran London Missionary Society man, at his station Komaggas, and eventually married the latter's daughter. Assisted by J. Fred Budler, Kleinschmidt subsequently occupied the station Kookfontein, which the London Mission had consented to make over to their Rhenish brethren on the death of their missionary Wimmer.

¹ See Chap. XIII.

² See Chap. XVIII.

Under the régime of Ferdinand Brecher the name Kookfontein was altered to Steinkopf, and as Steinkopf the station has acquired considerable fame and importance, owing in great part to its proximity to the copper mines of Little Namaqualand.

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The attention of the Rhenish missionaries was at this stage strongly drawn to the territory north of the Orange River, and they were urged, among others by Captain James Alexander, who in 1836-37 had traversed the whole length of Great Namaqualand,¹ to undertake mission work among the tribes of the north country. An attempt was actually made to establish a mission in Great Namaqualand, and Hugo Hahn was sent, together with one or two others, to search for a suitable field. The Wesleyan missionaries, however, who were then in occupation at Warm Bath (Nisbett Bath) raised objections to the entrance of another society into their sphere of labour, and the Rhenish missionaries accordingly abandoned their attempt.

The work in the Karreebergen was commenced in 1845 by Missionaries Lutz and Beinecke, who founded the station Amandelboom, now the village of Williston, on the Zak River. The pioneers pitched their tent under a huge almond tree, whence the station derived its name (Amandelboom = almond tree). Soon a school was opened and regular mission work undertaken among the neglected Bastaards. Gradually the Word of God appeared to penetrate to the heart of the people, and in about the year 1850 a refreshing revival broke out, large numbers were added to the Church, and those who already professed faith in Christ grew manifestly in grace and in good works.

A new and important work was inaugurated in 1847 among a small tribe of Kafirs, who had been located by the Cape Government at a place called Schietfontein, now the village of Carnarvon. The chief of this tribe made urgent representations to Lutz as to the need in which he and his people stood of a missionary. Such a request could not be lightly regarded, and Christoph Alheit was commissioned to start a mission work among the members of this Bantu tribe. The enterprise was crowned with a large measure of success. Within a few months a great change was apparent in the habits and life

¹ Sir J. E. Alexander : "Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa," 2 vols., 1838.

CHAP. of the tribe. Civilised clothing had been assumed ; church
XXI. and school were well attended ; the Sabbath was strictly
honoured ; native dances were abolished and drunkenness dis-
countenanced. At the end of 1850 the Schietfontein station
counted 173 baptised Christians.

THE ADVANCE INTO GREAT NAMAQUALAND.

We must now chronicle the entrance of the Rhenish Society into the field in which, in spite of toil and difficulty and an unproductive soil, it has reaped its chief successes in South Africa. Great Namaqualand—the country along the western seaboard north of the Orange River—had been previously occupied by the London and the Wesleyan Missions. The former Society had already made over its Namaqua stations south of the Orange to the Rhenish Mission, but the Wesleyans continued for a good many years longer to keep possession of Nisbett Bath. As the Wesleyan Society proved unable to send out more men to occupy Great Namaqualand, it could no longer raise any objections to the entrance of the Rhenish brethren ; and in 1842 Hans Christiaan Knudsen, by birth a Norwegian and by profession an artist, re-occupied Schmelen's old station at Bethanie.

It may be well that we should pause here for a moment in order to understand clearly which native tribes the earliest missionaries met with in Great Namaqualand. The inhabitants of this barren and desolate tract of country may be divided into three classes. There are, first of all, the various Namaqua¹ or Hottentot tribes, who all originally spoke a language full of unpronounceable clicks, and allied, in all probability, to the Bushman language. A section of these Namaqua tribes, known as the Orlams, were descendants of the Cape Colony Hottentots, who through contact with Europeans had lost their own language, and had adopted a broken Dutch in its stead. The indigenous Namaqua tribes of Great Namaqualand still retained the old click-speech.

To the north of the territory occupied by the Namaqua and Orlam tribes a Bantu tribe had established itself, which

¹ The term *Nama-qua* is not etymologically accurate, since the suffix *qua* is merely a masculine plural denoting *people*. *Nama* would be the correct form to use. But since *Namaqua* has become the common and universally current designation, no apology is made for its retention.

was known colloquially as the Damara tribe, but is more accurately called the Ova-Herero or Herero. Their language was allied to that of the Bechuana and Basuto in the east, and in physique, tribal custom, agricultural pursuits and religious beliefs they likewise revealed their close affinity to their Bantu brethren in East and South-east Africa.

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Lying both geographically and ethnographically between the two native races that have been described were the so-called Berg Damara (or Mountain Damara). The Berg Damara constitute the most absorbing ethnographical problem of South Africa. In colour and physical build they are probably Bantu; in habits of life they are most closely allied to the Bushmen; in speech they are Namaquas. What can the origin be of a tribe that possesses some of the characteristics of each of the three great sections of the South African native races? It seems clear that these Berg Damara (or Hau-koin, "real men," as they call themselves) were originally a Bantu tribe,¹ who by an eddy in the tide of Bantu migration had been left stranded on the western shore of the Kalahari Desert. Here they came into collision with the more powerful Namaqua race, by whom they were enslaved and whose language they were compelled to adopt. In order to escape as far as possible from bondage to their Namaqua overlords, the Berg Damara withdrew into the mountains, where they occupied caves and rock-shelters, or put up temporary huts in the most concealed and inaccessible positions. The agricultural pursuits which, as Bantu, they may once have engaged in, had been long since abandoned; and the cattle they may have possessed had been seized by their rapacious neighbours. There remained for them no other means of subsistence but that of the Bushmen. Like this diminutive race the Berg Damara are hunters of game, which they kill with their arrows or drive into carefully prepared pitfalls; like them, they can manage to exist for prolonged periods on the merest *veldkost*, i.e. whatever the *veld* can yield to aid in stilling the pangs of hunger, such as locusts and caterpillars, honey and gum, berries and roots.

The Namaquas, the Berg Damaras and the Hereros, ac-

¹ According to some (e.g. Josaphat Hahn) the Berg Damara were originally a negro tribe, and accordingly the real autochthons of South Africa.

CHAP. XXI. cordingly, were the three races which the Rhenish missionaires successively encountered as they penetrated farther and ever farther into the burning wastes of Great Namaqualand. When Knudsen reached Bethanie in 1842, his first work was to rebuild the station, which had fallen into ruins since Schmelen's departure in 1824. The tribe among whom he had settled belonged to the Hottentot Orlams, and acknowledged David Christian as chief. They were overjoyed at possessing their own missionary once more, after an interregnum of eighteen years. Knudsen set to work with great earnestness, and soon a revival broke out, with all those outward signs of excitation which are so common among people of an emotional temperament. Within a few months of his arrival the missionary considered himself justified in baptising forty-six adults and sixty children.

But the seed which sprang up so quickly in that shallow soil withered almost as quickly. Temporal adversity sorely tried the faith of the band of converts. Severe droughts, those perpetually recurrent evils in Great Namaqualand, soon ensued, resulting in the dispersion of the little tribe of not more than 600 individuals. So far as lay in his power, Knudsen visited his scattered flock with regularity; but the cessation of regular preaching and catechising, and of daily instruction and discipline, could not but have a disastrous effect on a people with so little depth of character as these Namaquas. Presently the un-Christian trader entered the country, with his firearms and his brandy, and Knudsen with his coadjutor Hahn experienced many seasons of heavy trial and bitter disappointment at Bethanie.

More reassuring results were achieved among the little clan of Hottentots belonging to Goliath. Here Samuel Hahn, assisted by a converted native named Tibot, laboured with much acceptance and no small success. Under Hahn's direction the clan removed from their original position, where water and pasture were painfully scarce, to a new station which was named Bersaba. The *trek* to the new site nearly provoked a quarrel with Oasib, chief of the "Rooi Volk" Namaquas, but through the patience and tact of the missionary the threatened breach of the peace was averted. It was a matter of greater difficulty to restrain Goliath from following the example of

other chiefs like Jonker Afrikaner, who engaged in raids upon the Herero in the north, and thus enriched themselves with immense numbers of cattle, sheep and goats. The Bersaba mission station was subsequently, and for many years, the scene of the labours of that notable missionary J. G. Krönlein, who acquired an exceptional mastery of the Namaqua language, into which he translated the whole Bible.

To the north of the stations just described the Mission succeeded in establishing itself among other sections of the Namaqua people. The station Rehoboth was founded by Kleinschmidt, who had first attempted to commence a work at Windhoek, where, however, he was soon replaced by the Wesleyans. About thirty miles east of Walvisch Bay a station was established by Scheppmann, who, after a brief course, died there in 1847, and in whose memory the name Scheppmannsdorf was bestowed upon the place. Francis Galton the traveller visited this station in 1850, and describes it as a little oasis in a perfect waste of sand-dunes.

The pioneers of the mission to the Herero people were Hugo Hahn, Rath and Kolbe. These three brethren founded respectively the stations of New Barmen, Otjimbingue and Okahandja (or Schmelen's Hope), which are all situated along the course of the Swakop River.¹ The difficulties which these missionaries encountered, and, be it also said, successfully overcame, were very great. They had to master the Herero language without any assistance from dictionary, grammar or interpreter, for none of these existed. They had to win the confidence of the Herero people, who viewed with the utmost suspicion white men who had established themselves at the kraals of their hereditary foes, the Namaqua Hottentots. That the white strangers could be friends both to the Hereros and to the Hottentots seemed to them an incredible proposition.

Moreover, to complicate matters for the missionaries, and further to retard the progress of the Gospel among the Hereros, Jonker Afrikaner had lately resumed his raids into the territory lying towards the north. All Herero communities he conceived to be his natural prey. A large number of the poorer Hereros

¹ It must be remembered that the so-called "rivers" of this barren country are merely dry watercourses, which may however be transformed into roaring torrents immediately after heavy rains.

CHAP. XXI. were naturally drawn to the mission stations, where they hoped to dwell in security from the attacks of their dreaded foe. But Jonker now began to exhibit the utmost indifference towards the missionaries, and planned a night attack on Schmelen's Hope, which succeeded but too well. Numbers of unsuspecting Hereros were butchered in cold blood; many were fearfully mutilated; the whole community was scattered to the four winds. Galton tells us that he saw two poor women, one with both legs cut off at the ankle joints, and the other with one. "They had crawled," he tells us, "the whole way on that eventful night from Schmelen's Hope to Barmen, some twenty miles. The Hottentots had cut their feet off, after their usual fashion, in order to slip off the solid iron anklets that they wear. These wretched creatures showed me how they had stopped the blood, by poking the wounded stumps into the sand. A European would certainly have bled to death under such circumstances."¹ The missionary, Kolbe, and his wife, though they lost nearly everything, were permitted to withdraw unmolested to Barmen.

However, in spite of many hindrances and much adversity at the outset, encouraging progress was made. Kolbe soon compiled a hymn-book of fifty pieces; schools were established and attended by considerable numbers; church services and catechisation classes were regularly held. The impression left by the quiet peaceable work done at these mission stations was fitly described by a Herero visitor from the north, who, after listening to a sermon on heaven and hell, remarked: "Yes, here with the white teacher one finds heaven; but among us in the far north, who live amidst war and bloodshed, one finds only hell".

¹ Galton's "Tropical South Africa," p. 66.

CHAPTER XXII.

'THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BERLIN MISSION.'

Die verschiedenen Nationalitäten haben ihre verschiedene Missionsgaben: daraus volgt dass sie einander ergänzen, nicht dass sie die Missionsgebiete unter sich teilen nach nationalen Grenzen. Die Thatsachen liefern nicht den Beweis dass in den Kolonialgebieten die Missionare der herrschenden Nation erfolgreicher arbeiten als die einer fremden.—GUSTAV WARNECK.

IN Germany one of the earliest advocates of missionary enterprise was a preacher of the Bohemian Church, named Jänicke, who was stationed in Berlin. So great was "Father" Jänicke's zeal for missions that he established, in 1800, a training-school for missionaries, which for a quarter of a century did a noble work for the cause of missions. Among the more eminent men who issued from this school were those pioneers in South African missions, Christiaan Albrecht, Abraham Albrecht, J. H. Schmelen and Carl Pacalt. In all, some eighty missionaries were sent out from this establishment up to the time of Jänicke's death in 1827, and though it subsequently fell into decay, it nevertheless gave the first impulse to the founding of the Berlin Missionary Society.

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The interest awakened in Berlin by the work of Jänicke's missionaries led to the issue in 1823 of an "Appeal for Charitable Contributions in Aid of Evangelical Missions". This "Appeal" was signed by a number of notable men, among others by Professors Neander and Tholuck, and led to the establishment, in 1824, of the Berlin Missionary Society, or, to call it by its official name, "Die Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der evangelischen Missionen unter den Heiden" (*Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Missions among the Heathen*¹). There was an attempt to amalgamate the Berlin Society with Jänicke's training-school, but it proved unsuccessful, and the Society accordingly erected its own training establishment in

¹This society is also known, in German books, as "Berlin I".

CHAP. 1830, and four years later was able to send its first missionaries
XXII. to South Africa.

The missionaries, five in number,¹ landed in Cape Town in April, 1834, joined an expedition which was just starting for the north, and settled in the territory which was afterwards the Orange Free State. From the Griqua chieftain Adam Kok, who lived at Philippolis and claimed authority over the whole of this territory, they obtained a grant of land some twelve miles square. It lay along the banks of the Riet River and around a fountain of perennial water, and in course of time became a very valuable possession to the Society. The people among whom the missionaries settled were Korannas, a tribe of Hottentots who had migrated hither from the east. They had managed to become possessed of firearms, which made them a terror to the surrounding Bechuana and Basuto tribes. They also owned considerable herds of cattle and sheep, with which they moved from place to place in the search for suitable pasture. Their food consisted chiefly of game, which still roamed in countless numbers on the vast grassy plains that stretch between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. Their houses were of the usual Hottentot type—a framework of wooden laths covered with mats of reed; their clothing was composed of skins.

The station which the missionaries founded was named Bethanie (Bethany). A host of troubles assailed the pioneers of this new undertaking. They had to contend with the roving nature of the Korannas among whom they had taken up their abode, and with their fickle, irresponsible and shallow character. The seed scattered in such soil sprang up rapidly, but withered as quickly. These "South African Bedouins," as they were called, resembled the streams of the country they inhabited, which after every passing shower turn to foaming, roaring torrents, only to subside within a day or two, and become dry and waterless gullies once more. An even greater hindrance to the growth of the work arose from the domineering nature of the senior missionary, which led to continual bickerings between the other brethren, and caused the withdrawal of two of their number. Gregorowski returned to Cape Town, where

¹They were Messrs. Gebel, F. Lange, Kraut, Gregorowski and J. Schmidt.

he was taken into the employ of the South African Missionary Society, and Schmidt proceeded to Kafirland. On the arrival of Pehmöller as superintendent of the Berlin Missions in 1837, the three missionaries who had remained at Bethany were found guilty of dereliction of duty, and retired from the service of the Society.

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It was not until the arrival of C. F. Wuras, the real founder of Bethany, that the work there entered upon a period of prosperity. Wuras was a man of faith, patience and true devotion. The fruits of his labours were soon apparent. The first Christians were a girl who was baptised as Christiana, and the interpreter Gert, who received the name of Nathanael.

Meanwhile, however, the vagrant instincts of the tribe began to assert themselves, and a portion of the inhabitants migrated to the Modder River. A few years later, in 1845, English authority was established beyond the Orange River, and the territory between that river and the Vaal became the "Sovereignty". The number of Boer emigrants had greatly increased, and the land around Bethany grew too narrow for the requirements of the Korannas. Another section of the tribe swarmed off and established itself westwards near the Vaal River. Wuras followed them faithfully, and tried to continue his ministrations among them. But in spite of frequent attempts to persuade them to settle, not only by Wuras, but also by his successors Winter, August Schmidt and Salzmann, the sections of the tribe that had moved off to the Modder and Vaal Rivers broke up into smaller and ever smaller fragments, until they completely disappeared or were drawn back into the vortex of heathendom.

Bethany itself, though it had parted with the half of its inhabitants, continued to make good progress. After 1847 the number of occupants was gradually increased by the accession of various families of Bechuana, who had been driven from their original homes by the wars of the previous decade. While the Korannas were slowly diminishing in numbers and influence, the Bechuana element showed a steady increase, until the population of Bethany was nine-tenths Bantu and only one-tenth Hottentot.

Before 1850 another station had been established at Pniel on the south bank of the Vaal River, among a tribe of Korannas

CHAP. —the so-called Springboks—who owned allegiance to the half-
XXII. breed Jan Bloem. This man was the son of a European who had fled from the Cape Colony after having imbrued his hands with blood, had settled north of the Orange River and had there married a Hottentot woman. His son Jan became the leader of a band of freebooters, who for a succession of years committed serious depredations upon the surrounding tribes, and were the terror of the whole country-side. Jan himself never gave over his roving habits, and remained to the end of his life a wild and intractable character. His sons, however, were men of a better stamp, who eventually accepted Christianity, and were baptised as members of the little congregation at Pniel.

The Berlin missionaries were anxious to acquire a portion of land around the Pniel station, in order that not only they, but also the tribe among whom they were labouring, might have some security of tenure. But to whom should they apply? The Sovereignty authorities had indeed allotted a reserve to Jan Bloem, but Cornelis Kok, the Griqua captain of Campbell, laid claim to the portion of ground on which the mission station was situated, though not a single one of his people lived south of the river. His claim was, however, acknowledged by the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, and he was permitted to sell farms south of the river to all who chose to buy them. The Berlin Society in this manner became the owners of a considerable portion of land, and of land lying near the very place where twenty years later the rich Diamond Fields of South Africa were discovered.

We must now turn for a moment to the work of the Society in the Cape Colony. Gregorowski, as we have seen, was compelled to sever his connection with Bethany and to enter the service of the South African Missionary Society. When Superintendent Pehmöller arrived at Cape Town in 1837, he agreed with the Directors of the Society just mentioned to hand over Gregorowski to them, in order that he might proceed to Zoar and continue the work which had been suspended since Joubert's departure.¹ Gregorowski arrived at Zoar in 1838. He was a man of earnestness and deep piety, and within a very short

¹ See Chap. XI.

time great changes were apparent at the station in the habits and character of the inhabitants. Order was restored where confusion had reigned, habits of industry were inculcated, and temptations to drunkenness and vice as far as possible removed. In 1842 Gregorowski left Zoar and joined the London Mission, as whose agent he laboured for many years at Somerset East. He was succeeded by Radloff, under whose ministry a notable revival broke out, so that during 1843 alone fifty new members were added to the congregation. At about this time the South African Society came to the conclusion that they could no longer undertake the support of this work, and notice was given to Radloff that the connection between him and the Society would shortly cease. There was great consternation at Zoar when these tidings of evil were made known, and a deputation was despatched to Cape Town to plead for the retention of the beloved missionary. In response to the appeal of this delegation the Berlin Society agreed to take over the station for the period of ten years, and Radloff, to the great joy of his flock, remained at Zoar.

The pioneer of the Kafrarian Mission of the Berlin Society was J. L. Döhne, who arrived in South Africa with the second party¹ of missionaries in 1836. Meeting with Kayser, a fellow-German who belonged to the London Society, he was persuaded by him to devote himself to the Kafirs, and he settled accordingly in the territory of the Xosa² chieftain Gasela. On the banks of the Cumakala River,² adjoining the present village of Stutterheim, he founded the station Bethel. Here Döhne had to contend, at the outset, with serious difficulties, and to submit to many privations. His dwelling was a Kafir hut, and the staple Kafir food, mealies and sour milk, was his diet. But cast as he was among the natives in absolute solitude, he acquired their language very rapidly, and in nine months' time was able to preach fluently in Kafir. Presently he was joined by his young wife, and by assistants such as Liefeldt and Schmidt; the mission was owned of God, and the first-fruits were gathered in when a young Kafir was baptised as Joshua.

¹ This party consisted of Messrs. Wuras, Zerwick, Radloff, R. Lange, Döhne, and Ortlepp.

² It must be remembered that x, c and q in Kafir and Zulu are clicks, and have not their equivalent English sound.

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A second station was established in 1838 on the banks of the Kabusi River, and called Itemba; and a third, still in Gasela's territory, was named Emmaus (1843). The latter, however, was soon given up. The missionaries now at work in this field were Döhne, Schultheiss, Liefeldt and Posselt, and they were joined in 1845 by Kropf and Güldenpfennig. In the meantime the mission had been forced to pass through a time of storm and stress. The Kafirs on the colonial border had shown signs of great restlessness. Raids upon unprotected cattle and the murder of isolated colonists had taken place with increasing frequency. The Glenelg Treaties¹ had proved powerless to repress the marauding instincts of the natives. The chiefs either could not or would not restrain their young braves from committing depredations on the flocks and herds of the border colonists. Since the establishment of the treaties no less than 106 persons had been at different times murdered by bands of Xosas, while on the other hand no acts of violence could be brought home to any white man. In November, 1845, a band of natives belonging to the Gunukwebe tribe attacked a tribe of whites, among whom were three Berlin missionaries, and murdered one of the latter, Ernst Scholz, who was on his way to join Döhne at Bethel. It was becoming plain to all observers that hostilities between the Cape Government and the Xosa tribes could not be long deferred.

The war broke out in March, 1846. It was the seventh occasion upon which the Government came into collision with the natives of the eastern frontier, and, since the occasion for its outbreak was the rescue of a Kafir who had been sentenced for stealing an axe, it became known as "The War of the Axe". It is not necessary to trace the events of this war, as it dragged its weary length along during the remainder of 1846 and the whole of 1847. Suffice it to say, that it was commenced by Sir Peregrine Maitland, continued by Sir Henry Pottinger, and brought to a conclusion by Sir Harry Smith. The last-named Governor assembled the chiefs of the various tribes at King William's Town, and bound them by oath to keep the peace, to acknowledge British sovereignty,

¹ See Chap. XVI, p. 149.

to receive missionaries, and to repress criminal and heathen practices. Pointing to a wagon, which had been previously prepared for an explosion, he said: "Hear me give the word, Fire!" The wagon was blown to atoms, and the Governor said impressively: "That is what will happen to you, unless you keep your oaths". Taking a sheet of paper, he tore it into fragments, and said: "There go the treaties! No more treaties: do you hear?" The assemblage therewith dispersed with loud shouts of "Peace, peace!"

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The calm continued for a short while only. At the end of 1850 another Kafir war—the eighth and incomparably the most costly of all—broke out. The immediate results were extremely serious for the missionaries. Bethel and Itemba, the Berlin stations, were laid in ashes, and the same fortune overtook more than twenty mission stations of other Societies. The converts at these stations, however, remained loyal to the Government, and took refuge in King William's Town, where they remained until the conclusion of hostilities. Their conduct compared favourably with that of the Kat River Hottentots, who at the instigation of an ambitious leader named Uithaalder, joined the Kafirs, and thus contributed to make this the most formidable insurrection with which the Cape Government ever had to deal. Peace was not finally concluded till 1853, when the missionaries were able to return to their homes and rebuild their stations. Bethel arose from its ashes once more, but Itemba was never rebuilt.

In the meantime Döhne, Posselt and Güldenpfennig, weary of the constant alarms and wars which convulsed Kafraria, had accepted an invitation sent them by Shepstone¹ to commence a mission in Natal. Under the lofty, snow-covered Drakensbergen and near the source of the Little Tugela River they laid the foundations of their first station in that territory, calling it Emmaus. Döhne, however, soon severed his connection with the Society in order to respond to the earnest invitation of the emigrant farmers at Pietermaritzburg, and to become their minister in succession to Lindley, who had rejoined his own mission (the American Board). Posselt settled in Durban, as Port Natal was now called, and sought

¹ Afterwards Sir Theophilus Shepstone: then (1846) Native Agent for Natal.

CHAP. to establish a work there. Güldenpfennig was left alone at XXII. Emmaus to build up a Christian congregation, which he found a difficult task, as he was a layman and unordained. Döhne at a later date joined the American Board as missionary, and gave himself chiefly to linguistic studies. By careful study and tireless perseverance he succeeded in compiling a dictionary of 10,000 Zulu words, which was published as an octavo volume of 460 pages in 1857. On this work a competent critic made the following laudatory remarks: "It is not only the first dictionary of a South African tongue that can claim any approximation to completeness, but is also a living monument to the author's industry, careful observation and unfaltering perseverance".

By 1850, then, the Berlin missionaries had occupied the following centres: one station in the Cape Colony, two in the Orange River Sovereignty, two in Kafraria, and one in Natal. At these various stations no less than five different languages were employed, namely, Dutch, Koranna, Sechuana, Kafir and Zulu. It is plain that the Berlin Society had committed the error common to almost all the Societies in that early pioneering stage of missionary effort—the error of diffusing its agencies over too wide an area. This was an error on the right side, be it said, for nothing tended so effectively to the pacification of unruly and warlike tribes as the introduction of a missionary into their territory. It is therefore excusable in the earliest missionaries that they established themselves at strategic points over a wide area, in preference to concentrating their efforts upon a single tribe occupying a circumscribed territory. But the disadvantages of this course became apparent when other Societies came crowding upon the heels of the earlier agencies, and the gaps between one station and another were filled by another body. The possibility of possessing a compact and homogeneous field within the Cape Colony was thus soon lost to the Berlin Society.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE AMERICAN ZULU MISSION.

Say not the struggle nought availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been, things remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars ;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH.

IN 1806, as is well known, four students of Williams College were forced to take shelter in a haystack from a sudden storm, and while there pledged themselves to work in the foreign mission-field. Out of this "haystack meeting" of Samuel Mills and his three friends grew the great work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.), which was finally established by charter in 1812. The first fields to be occupied were India, Ceylon, the Levant and the Sandwich Islands, and it was not till 1834 that the Board turned its attention to South Africa.

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Dr. Philip appears to have been the first to place the claims of South Africa before American Christians, and the Board responded to the appeal by sending out a pioneering party of six men, of whom three were intended for Natal, and three for the interior of the country. In the "Missionary Herald" of the American Board the departure of this party is succinctly mentioned as follows (January, 1835) :—

The Commission have made arrangements for commencing a Mission among the Zulus of South-eastern Africa, and for commencing simul-

CHAP. taneously in the two separate communities into which that people is at present divided.¹ The part which is destined for the maritime community, situated between Port Natal and De la Goa Bay, will probably be landed at Port Natal. The other, destined for the interior, must go by the way of Cape Town. The Zulus all speak the same language, and till recently were under the same head.

Rev. Daniel Lindley, Missionary ; Rev. Alex. E. Wilson, Missionary and Physician ; Rev. Hy. L. Venable, Missionary (with their wives) are to occupy one of the posts named above. Rev. Aldin Grout, Missionary ; Rev. G. Champion, Missionary ; and Doctor Newton Adams, Physician (with their wives) are to occupy the other. (Embarked at Boston, Dec. 3, 1834.)

The ship "Burlington" in which the missionaries embarked reached Cape Town in February, 1835, and the first party—Messrs. Lindley, Wilson and Venable—made their way by ox-wagons to Griquatown, where they spent five months in studying the language, preparatory to entering upon the field for which they had been designated. They then (in 1836) proceeded by way of Kuruman, Moffat's station, to Mosega, the former capital of the Bahurutsi, which was now occupied by Moselekatse's warriors, and received the permission of that chieftain to settle among his people. When, however, Moselekatse ascertained what the doctrines were which the missionaries were trying to inculcate, his friendliness suddenly cooled, he withdrew to Kapayin, fifty miles north of Mosega, and forbade his subjects to give ear to the teachings of the white men. The brethren themselves, as well as their families, had been attacked by fever, and with an affronted chief and an indifferent people, the prospects of the mission seemed far from bright.

The fortunes of the American missionaries are from this point and onwards so intertwined with those of the emigrant farmers, that it is necessary to look briefly at the remarkable history of the latter. The Great Trek (or emigration) forms one of the most extraordinary and romantic pages of South African History, and is an event without parallel in the whole history of British colonial possessions. "Partial emigrations," writes Captain Cornwallis Harris in 1837, "are by no means uncommon, as the existence of the Colony itself sufficiently proves,

¹The reference is to the Zulus, under Dingaan, and the Matabele, under Moselekatse,

but here is an instance of a body of between *five and six thousand souls*, who have with one accord abandoned the land of their nativity—endeared to them by every interesting association—and have recklessly plunged into the pathless wilds of the interior, braving the perils and hardships of the wilderness, and (many of them already in the vale of years) seeking out for themselves another dwelling-place in a strange and inhospitable soil."

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It is unnecessary to inquire here into the reasons which inspired this great undertaking. That the emigrants had grievances, very real and very serious, against the British Government, will hardly be disputed. The most important of these grievances are summed up in the manifesto published by Pieter Retief, the most capable leader the emigrants had.¹ It must suffice to chronicle here in barest outline the strange vicissitudes to which the earliest parties were subject. The first trek is known as the Triechard trek, and consisted of a few families under the command of one Louis Triechard, together with another party of equal size under Jan van Rensburg—together some thirty wagons. Leaving the Colony in 1833 they made their way by slow stages to the Zoutpansberg, passing through a vast uninhabited country, which had been denuded of all its inhabitants by Moselekatse's *impis*.² The Rensburg party disappeared completely. Thirty years later a white man and a white woman were discovered living as natives among the Ma-gwamba tribe. They could speak no language but the native speech, and knew nothing of their ancestry; and their discovery gave colour to a surmise that they may have been the sole survivors of the Rensburg emigrants, who were probably—all but these two—murdered by the natives. Triechard's trek made its way towards Delagoa Bay. At first all went well, but presently the cattle were attacked by *tsetse*, and the members of the party by fever. Sadly decimated in numbers they at length reached Delagoa Bay, where they were hospitably cared for by the Portuguese authorities, until their friends in the Colony, hearing of their evil plight, chartered a schooner to fetch them to Natal. So disastrously ended the first emigration.

¹ See Appendix, Note O.² *Impi* = regiment of warriors.

C^HAP. The second party of emigrants, which was under the command of Andries Hendrik Potgieter,¹ crossed the Orange River in 1836, and scattered itself over what is now the northern portion of the Free State. A number of the members of this party even proceeded across the Vaal upon an exploratory tour, which lasted nearly four months. On nearing one of their old encampments during the return journey, the signs of a dreadful tragedy met their eyes. A certain Erasmus had gone upon an elephant-hunting expedition, accompanied by several other men, and while moving slowly homeward had been attacked by one of Moselekatse's impis. Erasmus and one of three sons who had taken part in the expedition, as well as two brothers named Bekker, managed to make good their escape, but the others were massacred, and their wagons, cattle and horses carried off to Moselekatse's kraal. Meanwhile, another regiment of Matabele warriors had fallen upon an unsuspecting encampment of Liebenbergs, where they murdered twelve whites and an equal number of coloured servants. Another party might have shared the same fate, had not Erasmus managed to warn them betimes. They therefore quickly arranged their wagons for defence, and when the Matabele assault began, were able to inflict such severe punishment on their assailants, that the latter left fully a third of their number on the battle-field.

The murders which had been perpetrated were but the prelude to a combined attack upon the emigrants by the whole of Moselekatse's formidable army. The farmers were encamped at Vechtkop, some twenty miles south of the present town of Heilbron. Here fifty wagons were drawn up in the form of a hollow square, with loop-holed barricades at two opposite corners, from which the whole outer portion of the wall of wagons could be commanded. The interstices between the wagons were closely filled up with branches of the mimosa thorn, firmly secured in position by strong leather thongs. In this posture the emigrants awaited the attack of their savage enemy. On 2 October, 1836, the sentry on the summit of Vechtkop reported that he saw the Matabele army, 5000 strong, approaching. Sarel Cilliers, who had been appointed com-

¹ Commonly called simply Hendrik Potgieter.

mandant of the little force—it counted but forty men and boys¹ capable of using firearms—now led his followers out on horseback in order to stem, as long as possible, the current of assault. They would fire at the approaching host, gallop towards the camp, re-loading as they rode, then turn and fire again. Finally the horsemen withdrew inside the barricade of wagons, while the Matabele surrounded their intended victims, and then, with a loud hissing noise—their signal of destruction—rushed upon the barriers. The fire with which they were met was so deadly that they were compelled to fall back, but presently the attack was renewed with increased vigour and persistency, and the Matabele commenced throwing their assegais into the air and allowing them to fall within the square of wagons. The fire of the farmers, however, continued unabated, and in less than half an hour after the first assault, the enemy turned to retreat, hotly pursued by the victorious Boers on horseback. Thus were 5000 put to flight by forty. The Matabele, however, carried off all the cattle of the emigrants, leaving the latter in a precarious position, from which they were rescued, chiefly, through the kindly offices of Mr. Archbell and Chief Moroka of Thaba Nchu.

The emigrants were not slow in seeking to avenge themselves upon the treacherous Moselekatse. Little more than three months elapsed before a commando of about 100 farmers, with as many half-breeds and natives, took the field. Approaching Mosega from the south-west they surprised the place at early dawn, slew some 400 Matabele warriors, fired the huts, and then withdrew, after having recovered most of the wagons that had belonged to their murdered friends, and five or six thousand head of cattle. Moselekatse himself and his commander-in-chief Kalipi were away at Kapayin, and so escaped being captured or killed. The date was 17 January, 1837.

But how, while these stirring and tragic events were occurring, were the American missionaries faring? Captain Cornwallis Harris, who visited Mosega in October, 1836, makes the following reference to them:—

¹ Among the latter was a lad named Paul Kruger, destined in after years to play a commanding part in the history of the Transvaal.

CHAP. We received a hearty welcome from Dr. Wilson, one of the American
XXIII. fraternity, from whom we learned, on delivering a letter from Mr. Moffat,
that he had had the misfortune to lose his wife a few days before; and
that the rest of the party were likewise dangerously ill with fever, con-
tracted from having slept in their newly-built house before the floors were
dry. This gentleman likewise gave us accounts of the capture of several
wagons, the property of a farmer named Erasmus, who was hunting on
the Vaal River. . . . Dr. Wilson further informed us that a very large
commando under Kalipi, the minister and governor of Mosega, had already
been some days gone to the Vaal, to complete the destruction of the
emigrant farmers,—concluding by strongly advising us not to visit the
king at such a conjuncture.¹

When the Mosega kraals were destroyed by the farmers three months subsequent to Captain Harris's visit, the three Americans decided to withdraw with the emigrants. To remain in Moselekatse's territory would have been to court disaster. There seemed to be no hope of their being able to establish a mission among the martial Matabele, while the latter were embroiled in constant struggles with the Boers. They therefore reluctantly inspanned their wagons, and trekked to the south. The mission to the Matabele had proved a signal failure, and no further attempt was made by the Americans to evangelise Moselekatse's people. The three missionaries decided to join forces with their brethren in Natal, and completed their journey thither in safety, going round by Grahamstown, and spending six months on the way.

We must now follow the fortunes of the Natal section of the original band of missionaries. Owing to hostilities on the eastern border—the Kafir War of 1834-35 was in progress—the overland route to Natal was closed to Messrs. Adams, Grout and Champion, and they therefore waited for an opportunity to reach their destination by sea. It was not until the close of 1835 that they actually landed at Port Natal. The whole country was at that time ruled over by the Zulu chieftain Dingaan, who, after murdering his half-brother Chaka, seized the kingdom, and soon proved that he was his predecessor's equal in ferocity and his superior in treachery. On their arrival at Port Natal, the missionaries found it an indispensable preliminary to their work in this field that they should secure the consent, and if possible win the favour, of this all-powerful

¹ Harris: "Wild Sports of Southern Africa," pp. 86-87.

chief, before attempting to settle in his dominions. They accordingly repaired to his chief kraal, Umgungunhlovu, where they received a hospitable reception. On their preferring their request to be allowed to establish themselves at his place of residence, the chief replied that he had no objection to their settling in his country, but that they should erect their school and build their home, for the time being, only at Port Natal.

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Champion's journal written at this period contains very full accounts of their visit to, and reception by, the Zulu monarch, from which we can only make the briefest extract :—

At Gungunhlovu, Dingaan's capital, we arrived on Saturday, the 16th January, 1836. . . . It is situate on a slightly descending ground, by the side of a rocky streamlet, a branch of the great Umvolosi, and to the eye of an African traveller presents a very grand appearance. The place is in shape an oval. . . . The houses are large and admirably constructed, in some places six or eight deep, around the enclosed oval space. According to another's account there are 1000 huts in the whole village. Inside of the [oval of] huts a certain place is devoted to cattle kraals. These are also oval in shape, and occupy much ground ; but still a large green is left in the centre, for the parading of troops, dances, etc. . . . We were struck with the beauty and regularity of this, the chief's residence, as we came in full view of it from a neighbouring hill, and were glad to have reached the abode of him to whom our wishes and prayers, for at least twenty-four months, had had regard.¹

The Natal contingent was joined in July, 1837, by the three who had been compelled to abandon their work at Mosega ; and with hope rising high in their hearts, since the chief had proved himself so friendly, a rapid extension of their work was confidently anticipated. A second visit to Dingaan secured his consent to the establishment of more mission centres, and by the commencement of 1838 they had manned the following stations : Umlazi, about eight miles from Port Natal ; Ginani, ten miles beyond the Tugela River ; Ilovu, thirty miles south-west of the Port ; and Umhlatusi, thirty miles beyond Ginani. Scarcely, however, had they occupied these sites when events transpired which threw all their missionary undertakings into confusion, and compelled them to leave the country for a time. For an explanation of the situation we must again follow the fortunes of the emigrant farmers, who were thus for

¹ "Missionary Herald," Vol. 33, p. 117 *seqq.*

CHAP. the second time brought into close touch with the missionaries
XXIII. of the American Board.

After the destruction of Mosega, the farmers decided to examine the capabilities of the country called Natal. Under the leadership of Pieter Retief—the most enlightened and the ablest of their commandants—they set out from Thaba Nchu in 1837, crossed the lofty Drakensberg Range, and in October of that year reached Port Natal, where they were heartily welcomed by the little community then resident there. Accompanied by two white men as interpreters, Retief next proceeded to Umgungunhlovu to interview Dingaan. The reception which he and his comrades met with was, outwardly at least, as friendly as possible. The chief seemed willing to allow them to settle at and around Port Natal, but required of them, as proof of their amicable intentions, first to recapture 700 head of cattle which Sikonyela, the Batlokua chieftain, had carried off. This task was easily accomplished, and the Boer commandant prepared to pay a second visit to Umgungunhlovu in order to deliver the captured cattle.

With an escort of sixty men Retief accordingly proceeded to Dingaan's kraal, which he reached on 3 February, 1838. The attitude of the chief towards the emigrant leader and his party was such as to disarm all suspicions. He declared himself to be highly gratified at the restoration of his stolen cattle, and only expressed regret that Sikonyela himself had not been brought to him to receive condign punishment. He ordered a deed to be prepared which purported to transfer to Retief, as "Governor" of the emigrant Boers, a large portion of territory,¹ and after affixing his mark to it in the presence of witnesses, he solemnly handed it to the Boer commandant. On the morning of Tuesday, 6 February, all the formalities were completed, and the farmers prepared to return to their encampments. They were invited to take leave of the Zulu chief in his own kraal, and so unsuspecting were they that they even left their guns without. While beer was being served out, Dingaan suddenly called out, "Seize them". Holstead, an Englishman who acted as interpreter, exclaimed, "We're done for"; and added in Zulu, "Let me speak to the King".

¹ This historical document is given in the Appendix, *Note P.*

But Dingaan only waved his hand in token of his refusal to listen, and shouted repeatedly, "Kill the wizards!" The unfortunate victims were seized, dragged away to a hill where all executions were carried out, and there done to death with knobkerries by their fierce assailants. Not a single white man, nor even one of their coloured servants, escaped from this bloody massacre.

The terrible scene was witnessed by a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. F. Owen, who had been allowed to settle at Dingaan's capital, and whose house commanded a view of the place of execution. He has given us the following account of the tragedy :—

My attention was directed to the blood-stained hill nearly opposite my hut, and on the other side of my wagon which hides it from view, where all the executions at this fearful spot take place, and which was destined now to add sixty more bleeding carcases to the number of those which have already cried to heaven for vengeance. "There," said some one, "they are killing the Boers now!" I turned my eyes, and behold! an immense multitude on the hill. About nine or ten Zulus to each Boer were dragging their helpless, unarmed victims to the fatal spot,—where those eyes which awaked this morning to see the cheerful light of day for the last time, are now closed in death. I laid myself down on the ground. Mrs. and Miss Owen were not more thunderstruck than myself. We comforted one another. Presently, the deed of blood being accomplished, the whole multitude returned to the town to meet their sovereign; and, as they drew near to him, set up a shout which reached the station, and continued for some time. . . .

Dingaan's conduct was worthy of a savage, as he is. It was base and treacherous, to say the least of it. Suspicious of his warlike neighbours, jealous of their power, dreading the neighbourhood of their arms, he felt, as every savage would in like circumstances, that these men were his enemies, and, being unable to attack them openly, he massacred them clandestinely.

At a later hour on this terrible day another missionary arrived upon the scene. This was Venable, who knew nothing of what had occurred until the fearful news was imparted to him by one of Dingaan's *indunas*.¹ Venable made immediate arrangements to leave the place, as soon as he could do so without arousing the chief's suspicions, in order to warn his colleagues at the other stations. Owen and his family remained a few days longer, and then, having obtained Dingaan's

¹ Induna = chief councillor.

CHAP. permission, withdrew to Port Natal, relinquishing the better
XXIII. part of their possessions. Within a few days all the missionaries then in Natal had safely reached Port Natal, and on 30 March they took ship for Port Elizabeth, leaving behind them only Lindley, who had volunteered to remain and watch the course which events were taking. In this sad fashion were the high hopes which the missionaries had entertained for the success of their work among the Zulus rudely blasted.

The workers were now for a time completely scattered, and of the original band of six only three—Adams, Lindley, and Grout—were permitted to return to the scene of their labours. Dr. Wilson died in 1841 as a missionary in West Africa, Champion succumbed in the same year to a pulmonary complaint, and Venable was, at his own request, granted an honourable release from his connection with the Board.

In the meantime Dingaan, not content with massacring Retief and his party, had despatched thousands of his warriors to effect, if possible, the complete destruction of the Dutch emigrants. The first encampment of the unsuspecting farmers was attacked at early dawn on one sad day, and butchered almost to a man. Happily one youth, who had spent the night among the cattle, succeeded in mounting an unsaddled horse, and was thus enabled to warn the other encampments. Drawing their wagons together in the manner which experience had taught them was the best, the farmers managed to repel the attack of their savage foes. In the massacre at Weenen (= "weeping"), as the place was afterwards called, 41 men, 56 women, 185 children and about 250 coloured servants were cruelly done to death.

The remaining emigrants then banded themselves together to exact vengeance on the Zulus for the murder of their countrymen. The first expedition under Potgieter and Uys was unsuccessful, and the latter commandant lost his life in an encounter with the enemy. Then followed another disaster, in which a small commando of seventeen Englishmen and a large number of natives from Port Natal was surrounded by overwhelming numbers of Zulu warriors, and almost all slain. At length in November, 1838, Andries Pretorius, one of the most capable of the Boer leaders, assembled a force of 464 men, and marched upon Dingaan's kraal. Against this little

band Dingaan despatched a host of between 10,000 and 12,000 Zulu braves. At early dawn on the morning of Sunday, 16 December, they fell upon the Boer camp, and the battle which ensued was one of the most sanguinary in the whole history of South Africa. For two hours the savages threw themselves against the Boer phalanx in a vain attempt to force their way into the circle defended by the wagons, undeterred by a terrible fire from the long elephant guns and two pieces of cannon of their opponents. At length they broke and fled, leaving over 3000 corpses stretched upon the battle-field. The waters of the river round which the fight raged were discoloured with gore, and it has ever since been known as "Bloed Rivier" (Blood River). The Boers now marched rapidly on Umgungunhlovu, but before they could reach the place, Dingaan had set fire to it and fled. Not many months elapsed, however, before the treacherous chief, who had already been deserted by almost all his followers, was assassinated, and Panda was thereupon installed as paramount chief of the Zulus, in vassalage to the Boer Volksraad. Thus was a measure of order restored in Natal, and the way opened for the return of the exiled missionaries.

Adams and Lindley made their way back to Natal, as early as 1839. The former resumed work at his old mission station on the Umlazi, which being close to the Port, was in a comparatively safe situation. With the consent of the Board, Lindley decided to devote himself to the Boers, who were wholly without the ministrations of religion, and he accordingly settled at Pietermaritzburg, as the new township was named, in honour of the late leaders Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz.

The Mission Board in America came at this time to the decision to discontinue the work in South-east Africa, in view of the unsettled state of the country, and in the hope that English missionaries would be able to occupy Natal. Adams nevertheless decided to continue the work at his own cost; Lindley was ministering to the emigrant farmers; and Grout embarked for America. At Cape Town a number of Christian friends took up the question of the continuance of the Zulu mission in warmest fashion. Grout was prevailed upon to return to Natal, funds were subscribed to enable him to recommence his labours, and a Committee, consisting of Drs. Abraham

CHAP. Faure, Philip, and others, were instructed to make strong representations to the American Board with a view to the continuance and extension of the Natal Mission. This the Board eventually decided to do.

In 1844 the above-mentioned Dr. Abraham Faure, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town, visited Natal, and reported, *inter alia*, on the work done by the American missionaries then in the country. Regarding Lindley's self-denying labours on behalf of the Boers, he makes the following remarks in a report to the Colonial Secretary at Cape Town :—

The town [of Pietermaritzburg] which is sixty miles from [Port] Natal, contains about 120 houses, a court-house, and a place for divine worship thirty feet by fifty. The Rev. Daniel Lindley, formerly missionary in the service of the American Board for Foreign Missions, who accepted three years ago the appointment from the Volksraad of minister to the emigrants, hailed my arrival with every demonstration of real interest in the object of my mission. . . . The territory from Natal to the Modder River has been divided into five districts, to each of which a landdrost and heemraden have been appointed, and consistories established and inducted. Except at Pietermaritzburg, no place of worship has been built. On the occasional visits of Mr. Lindley to the more remote parts, a temporary hut has been erected, or the ordinances were administered in a tent constructed of wagon coverings.

Mr. Lindley has during his ministry baptised :—

At Natal, children	.	.	.	.	.	79
At Maritzburg in the year 1841	.	.	.	.	.	248
"	1842	.	.	.	.	244
"	1843	.	.	.	.	148
At Weenen (138 miles from Port Natal)	.	.	.	.	.	100
At Potchespruit (460 miles from Port Natal, north, on a pastoral visit in the months of May and June, 1842)	.	.	.	.	.	202
At Winburg (378 miles from Natal, during said visit in 1842)	.	.	.	.	.	362
						—
Together						1383

He has during the said period confirmed :—

At Pietermaritzburg	.	.	.	.	.	214 members
At Weenen	.	.	.	.	.	90 "
At Potchespruit, during the above-mentioned visit	.	.	.	.	.	109 "
At Winburg	.	.	.	.	.	170 "
						—
Together						583

He has married :—		CHAP. XXIII.
At Pietermaritzburg	70	couples
At Weenen	9	"
At Potchespruit	7	"
At Winburg	11	"
Together	97	

. . . [The inhabitants] are attached to the Rev. Mr. Lindley, and I can bear testimony to the indefatigable labours of that excellent man. I trust I am not exceeding the path of duty when I take this opportunity of recommending to His Excellency that the labours of Mr. Lindley be by Her Majesty's Government¹ secured to the farmers in the upper districts, provided he subscribes the laws and regulations of the D. R. Church of this Colony, which I know he does not feel unwilling to do.²

On the work done by Messrs. Adams and Grout, Mr. Faure expresses himself as follows :—

I take the liberty of mentioning that I had an opportunity of witnessing the labours of the American missionaries among the Kafirs, with which I have been highly delighted. The Rev. Mr. Grout at the Umgeni, and Dr. Adams at the Umlazi, impart instruction to the natives through the medium of their own language, and to them the natives have given proofs of grateful attachment. Mr. Grout has in his neighbourhood about 8000 souls, and Dr. Adams calculates on 15,000 in the district bordering on his station.³

Ten years elapsed since the missionaries first set foot in South Africa before they began to see any manifest fruit on their labours. In 1845, however, there were abundant signs that a spiritual awakening was not far off. Large audiences gathered on the Sabbath to hear the missionaries preach, and some hundreds attended the Sabbath School. Adams, especially, was unwearied in his efforts to carry the Gospel to the heathen who surrounded his station. The first convert was a woman named Umbalasi, who had fled to the station in a state of starvation. After a time of probation, she was baptised and admitted to the visible Church in 1846, and for nearly thirty years the faith she then professed was her comfort and her stay.

The missionary force was augmented in the same year by the arrival of James C. Bryant. Bryant occupied the station

¹ In April, 1843, Natal had been proclaimed a British colony by Sir George Napier.

² Quoted in Bird's "Annals of Natal," Vol. II, p. 356 *seqq.*

³ Bird, Vol. II, p. 361.

CHAP. originally commenced by Lindley, but subsequently withdrew
 XXIII. to Umsundusi. He was never in very robust health, and was therefore relieved as much as possible from difficult toil. He quickly mastered the Zulu language, and was then employed in translating portions of the Bible and composing Zulu hymns. In 1850 he fell a victim to consumption, being the first American missionary to die on South African soil.

After sharing for six years the life and fortunes of the emigrant farmers, Lindley resumed his connection with the American Board in 1847, and commenced the station Inanda, twenty miles north-westward from Port Natal. In the same year Lewis Grout reached the field and opened a station at the sources of the Umsundusi River. Meanwhile Adams found it advisable to transfer his station to a site which was more central to the sphere he was trying to work, and he established himself, accordingly, on the Amanzimtote, some ten or twelve miles farther from Durban than the Umlazi. The latter station was given into the charge of Silas McKinney, who subsequently commenced a new work at the Umkomasi, forty-five miles from Durban. During the years 1847 to 1850 there was a very rapid expansion of the work of the Board in Natal. By 1850 no less than twelve stations had been established,¹ and at the annual meeting of the mission, held at Umsundusi in September of that year, fourteen missionaries were present. "Though nearly fifteen years had elapsed since the mission was commenced, no member of the mission had died in the field. The first grave was dug in the following December, when Bryant died at Inanda. A nucleus of nine churches had now been formed, containing 123 members, of whom thirty-six were received during the current year."² The mission had now established itself firmly among the natives of Natal, and was entering a period of steady growth and increasing prosperity.

¹ The stations established up to this time were: Umlazi (Amanzimtote), Umvoti, Inanda, Ifumi, Umsundusi, Amahlongwa, Ifafa, Umkambati, Itafamasi, Mapumulo, Umtwalume and Isidumbi. The missionaries at work in 1850 were: Messrs. Adams, Aldin Grout, Lindley, Lewis Grout, Bryant, McKinney, Rood, Marsh, Ireland, Abraham, Wilder, Tyler, Döhne and Butler.

² Grout: *Zululand*, p. 22.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND MISSIONS BEFORE 1850.

Die Klage: wenige sind die Arbeiter, bezicht sich nicht blos auf die geringe Quantität, sondern vielleicht noch mehr auf die dürftige Qualität, denn im Reiche Gottes wird mehr gewogen als gezählt.—GUSTAV WARNECK.

THE battle of Blauwberg, as the result of which the Cape passed finally into the hands of the English, was fought on 8 January, 1806. One of the spectators of the contest was Henry Martyn, then on his way to India as a missionary. His heart and mind were full of concern for the heathen, and great was his joy at meeting, in Cape Town, with Van der Kemp and Read, who had been ordered to reside in the capital by the Batavian Government. With these brethren Martyn spent several weeks in Christian converse, and when they parted Van der Kemp presented his young friend and fellow-worker with a Syriac New Testament as a remembrance. From the summit of Table Mountain Martyn looked upon a broad expanse of sea and upon the blue mountains of the African continent, and meditated upon the certainty of the ultimate establishment of Christ's universal Kingdom. "I felt commanded to wait in silence," he writes, "and see how God would bring His promises to pass."

Martyn's brief stay, though it led to no immediate enterprise by the Church of England, was prophetic of future activity in the interests of Christ's Kingdom. But a good many years were to elapse before the Anglican Church grew alive to its responsibilities and opportunities in Southern Africa. Its first labours were, as was to be expected, directed towards supplying the spiritual needs of its own members.

These labours were performed, at the outset, in a very perfunctory fashion. The adherents of the English Church had not even a building in which to worship, and for the long

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CHAP. XXIV. period of twenty-seven years—from 1807 to 1834—they were indebted to the courtesy of the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church for leave to meet in the Heerengracht (now Adderley Street) edifice. A writer of the time thus describes the situation: “We look in vain for the Episcopal Church. Like the Jews of old, her servants seem to take more pleasure in the rubbish and stones of their temple than in the perfect structure. A convenient site has been granted them,¹ and we see at last a bridge over the gutter in front, and within the inclosure some rubbish and a few stones. The Episcopalian alone remain lukewarm and drowsy, without emulation, slumbering under a borrowed roof.”²

Up to the year 1821 the Anglican Church attempted nothing for the spiritual well-being of the coloured and native races of South Africa, beyond the baptism, by the chaplain of Cape Town, of a few negroes and liberated slaves. For those so baptised nothing further appears to have been done. They were not taught to read or write, nor instructed in the truths of Christianity, so that the lapse into heathendom was easy and inevitable. In 1821, however, an emissary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.), the Rev. William Wright, landed in Cape Town. According to the testimony of his friend Thomas Pringle, the poet, Wright was “a man of no ordinary attainments in Biblical erudition, and the only clergyman of the Church of England during my [Pringle’s] residence at the Cape who was friendly to the freedom, or active in promoting the improvement, of the coloured classes”.³ Wright opened a school for coloured children at Wynberg, and also conducted services for the coloured people on Sundays. In the year after his arrival he commenced another school for free and slave children in Cape Town itself, which school he maintained for some time at his own expense.

As a missionary to the heathen Wright does not seem to have been a success. In 1828 he was appointed chaplain of Bathurst on the eastern frontier, where he might have enjoyed

¹ This was the site of the present St. George’s Cathedral, at the top of St. George’s Street.

² “South African Commercial Advertiser,” 23 May, 1829.

³ Note to “The Emigrant’s Cabin”.

frequent opportunities of engaging in mission work. But for nearly two years after his appointment to Bathurst he remained at Cape Town, drawing the emoluments attaching to the chaplaincy, but fulfilling none of its duties. In consequence of his carelessness and improvidence, he was compelled to resign his chaplaincy and return to England. Wright has been warmly defended by his staunch friend Pringle, but the fact that his library was sold under legal process, and that he was otherwise involved in debt when he left the Cape, are sufficient proof that the charges of carelessness and financial incompetence were not unfounded. Nevertheless, though he carried on no direct mission work among the natives, he is entitled to be considered the first missionary of the S.P.G. in South Africa, if only on the strength of the schools which he established and subsidised.

With the exception of this isolated effort of Wright's, no interest was displayed by the Church of England in the evangelisation of South Africa. A correspondent in the "South African Commercial Advertiser," lamented in 1836 "the neglect of the Church to carry the Gospel to the heathen of this land," and commented on the absence, from the annual meeting of the London Missionary Society, of the Anglican clergymen of Cape Town. The reproach of being indifferent to missionary enterprise was, however, soon to be removed, for in 1835 there had arrived in South Africa a man whose name was destined to be inscribed in large letters upon the scroll of missionary heroes.

Captain Allen F. Gardiner, of the Royal Navy, was a gentleman of high birth and exalted Christian character, who from earliest childhood was interested in the spread of Christ's Kingdom. On the death of his wife in 1834, he resigned from active service in the navy, in order (as he stated) "to become the pioneer of a Christian mission to the most abandoned heathen". In the following year he reached Port Natal, and for the three subsequent years his name is closely associated with the stirring and tragic events that occurred in that country.

On his arrival at Port Natal, Gardiner was welcomed by James Collis, the principal trader of the country, whose house, constructed of reeds and mud, was the only building that made

CHAP. any pretensions to resemble a European dwelling. Including
 XXIV. Gardiner himself and his two attendants, the whole white population of Port Natal numbered no more than thirty-five souls, several being hunters who spent but a few weeks or months of the year at that spot. Gardiner's first endeavour was to reach Dingaan's kraal, and to obtain from that chief permission to establish mission stations in his territory. The permission was, however, refused, except so far as regarded Port Natal itself, and Gardiner returned with his purpose unfulfilled. The Europeans then in the settlement met him with the following address:—

PORT NATAL,
March 14th, 185³.

SIR,—We, the undersigned residents of Port Natal, learn with regret your unfavourable reception with Dingaan; and, to enable you to form a just estimate of our feelings, declare that the presence of a Missionary Establishment at Natal, whose object would be to inculcate industry and religion, would and shall meet with all the support in our power.

This document was signed by all the Europeans, eight in number, who were then at the Port.

There was at this time one constant cause of dispute between Dingaan and the white traders and hunters who had made Port Natal their rendezvous. From the chief's territory there was a continual influx of fugitives who had incurred the tyrant's displeasure and had fled for protection to the European community. Dingaan was, naturally enough, highly incensed at any attempt to harbour fugitives from his domains; and the settlers, on the other hand, were extremely reluctant to hand over such poor wretches, who in most cases had done no wrong, to the tender mercies of the despot of Umgungunhlovu. The Europeans felt, nevertheless, that they were awaking the resentment, and exposing themselves to the vengeance, of the Zulu chief, so long as they allowed their conduct to be directed by motives of compassion, and they accordingly authorised Gardiner to enter into an agreement, on their and his behalf, with the native potentate. The following was the agreement arrived at:—

Treaty concluded between Dingaan, King of the Zulus, and the British residents at Port Natal.

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Dingaan, from this period, consents to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual now residing at Port Natal, in consequence of their having deserted from him, and accords them his full pardon. He still, however, regards them as his subjects, liable to be sent for whenever he may think proper.

The British residents at Port Natal, on their part, engage for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zulu country or any of its dependencies, and to use every endeavour to secure and return to the King, every such individual endeavouring to find an asylum among them.

Should a case arise in which this is found to be impracticable, immediate intelligence, stating the particulars of the circumstance, is to be forwarded to Dingaan.

Any infringement of this treaty, on either part, invalidates the whole.
Done at Congella, this 6th day of May, 1835,

in presence of { UMTHELLA } chief indunas and head councillors of
{ TAMBOOZA } the Zulu nation,
G. CYRUS, Interpreter,

Signed on behalf of the British residents at Port Natal,
ALLEN F. GARDINER.¹

Captain Gardiner conceived himself to be bound by this treaty to deliver up to Dingaan four natives, two men and two women, who had recently fled to Port Natal, and though he proceeded to the chief's kraal in person to plead for their lives, they were slowly starved to death. The result of this act was, however, to inspire Dingaan with such confidence in Gardiner's sincerity that he gave him leave to establish missions in other parts of his wide territories. The latter thereupon left for England, in order to secure missionaries to occupy these outposts on the frontiers of heathendom.

Gardiner was successful in interesting the Church Missionary Society in his projects; and that body sent out as missionary the Rev. Francis Owen, a Cambridge graduate in honours, and at that time curate of Normanton, who with his wife, his sister, and a general servant named Jane Williams, set sail for South Africa on Christmas Eve, 1836, arriving at Cape Town in the commencement of 1837. On 15 March of that year they were welcomed at a public meeting held at the Commercial Exchange in Cape Town under the presidency of the

¹ Chase: "Natal Papers," I, p. 40; Bird: "Annals," I, p. 307.

CHAP. Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. The colonial chaplain, Mr. XXIV. Hough, read the interesting "Instructions"¹ issued to Owen by the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, who had undertaken the support and direction of the Natal Mission; and in his address Owen himself expounded those instructions, and gave a brief account of the success which had attended the labours of the Church Missionary Society in other parts of the world. The tangible fruit of this meeting, which was also addressed by Captain Gardiner, was the establishment of the "Cape of Good Hope Church Missionary Society," with the Governor as President, the Rev. E. Judge as one of the secretaries, and a number of influential citizens as Committee.² At the commencement it seemed as though the newly formed Society would greatly flourish. The donations exceeded £100, and the annual subscriptions amounted to £80. But unhappily the enthusiasm awakened by the visit of Gardiner and Owen soon died down, interest in missionary effort began to flag, and for more than two years subsequently the Society held no anniversary meetings, and the Committee presented no reports.

In May, 1837, Gardiner reached Port Natal again, armed with a commission appointing him a Justice of the Peace for the settlement. By that commission he was empowered to arrest, commit to custody and bring to trial the King's subjects charged with the perpetration of any crime south of the 25th parallel of latitude. Gardiner, however, was forced to confess that the powers conferred upon him were wholly nugatory. His authority could not be enforced, no one was willing to act as constable, and no single tender was received for the erection of magistrate's office or jail. Moreover, the European settlers at Port Natal protested in no uncertain voice against Gardiner's appointment, and stoutly maintained "that this country of Natal is not an acknowledged part of the British dominions, but a free settlement". Gardiner's head, it would appear, lay but uneasy so long as he wore the crown of magisterial authority.

Owen and his party had arrived in Natal in company with

¹ See Appendix, Note Q.—These Instructions were from the pen of Wm. Jowett, the pious secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

² For full account of this gathering see "The South African Christian Recorder," Vol. II, p. 497 *seqq.*

Gardiner, and attempts were now made to obtain Dingaan's permission for the establishment of a mission at his own kraal. This for a long time he was unwilling to give, but he was at length cajoled into granting a reluctant consent. Owen therupon removed to Umgungunhlovu, where Dingaan gave him leave to occupy a hut within sight of the great kraal. Here Owen was thrown into continual contact with the heathen chief, and acted, as we already know, as his secretary in conducting important correspondence. Almost all the letters written by Dingaan to the emigrant farmers were indited by Owen.

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The early friendliness which Dingaan had evinced towards Gardiner and Owen was soon supplanted by a measure of distrust. The chief's demand was always for firearms, and this demand the missionaries were both unable and unwilling to satisfy. Gardiner, indeed, had warned the Cape Government against the increasing barter of firearms to the natives, and had asked for larger powers chiefly in order to check the trade in muskets, powder and lead; and this was no doubt the principal reason why the traders at the Port protested against his appointment. Owen, apparently, was continually pestered by the chief for instruction in the use of muskets and the making of bullets. His diary contains, among many others, the following reference to this burning and troublesome question :—

November 26 [1837] Lord's Day. The most memorable, as well as the most painful day since the commencement of the mission. About 8 o'clock, when I was preparing to go down to the town in order to preach the Word of God (as I hoped) before the King, he sent a messenger to tell me "that he was much displeased ; that he had expected the teachers would instruct him in all things ; however, they chose to select certain things which they would teach him, but would not instruct him in that which he wanted most to know"—alluding to firearms—"therefore I might indeed come down, and preach God's Word in the town, this once : this should be the last time : the children might come to me on Sundays, but this was all he would grant". I thought this message strange, but made no reply to it, as I was myself ready to wait on the King. Dr. Wilson accompanied me.

Dingaan having in vain endeavoured to extract from my interpreter what my sentiments were on his message this morning, called to me and said he was very sore. The white people, he said, were not one with him. They granted him some things, but other things they withheld ; yet he

CHAP. was ready to do all the white people asked him. First one teacher asked XXIV. to instruct his people, then another, and he granted all : yet he could not have his wants supplied in return. He said, moreover, that I was like the rest ; that I was one with the white people ; for when he asked me only to lend him a bullet-mould, I refused. This showed that I was like them. I told him that I was ready to render him every service in my power consistently with my duty to my God, my King and my country. He said it was no use for me to twist myself out of the charge that he brought against the white people, for it was evident that I opposed his having firearms as much as they did. I told him I did not mean to twist myself out of this charge ; that I desired his good—the good of his soul, which I had come in the first place to promote ; and that I was ready to teach him anything else besides God's Word, consistently with my duty to my country. He said it was in vain for me to shelter myself under the pretence that I desired his good, because I did not lend him the bullet-mould. He repeated over and over again the substance of what he had said, addressing himself to his servants, all of whom acknowledged it : and then he said he would tell me plainly he was offended. When I asked if he was offended at *me*, he told me not to ask that question : I must infer it from what he had said.¹

It was little more than two months after this interview that the treacherous massacre of Retief's party occurred, as has been related in the previous chapter. After a week or two of great anxiety Owen and his family made their way to Port Natal, where they remained for two months. News kept pouring in of the massacres of the various Boer encampments, of the defeat of the Natal army under Biggar, and of the reverse sustained by the Boers under Pieter Uys, and all these occurrences combined to make the position of the missionaries and settlers at Port Natal one of imminent danger. They were greatly relieved when the brig "Comet," bound for Delagoa Bay, arrived at the harbour. On board this vessel they took shelter for nine days, during which a Zulu army lay at the Port.

When the native warriors had departed, the settlers found all their property destroyed, and every living animal driven off or killed. There was now no object to be gained by remaining at Port Natal any longer, and with one or two exceptions the settlers, now greatly reduced in numbers, sailed for the Cape Colony via Delagoa Bay, Owen and his party being of the number. In his journal the latter thus chronicles the event :—

May 11, 1838. At four o'clock this evening we weighed anchor. The natives and a few settlers came to the beach and bade us farewell,

¹ Quoted in Bird: "Annals of Natal," I, p. 335 seqq.

with every token of grief. As we had a fair wind we soon crossed the bar, and I once more found myself at sea, without a prospect of being soon settled. The leaving this fine people is a greater trial than I can describe, when I take into consideration their habits, the fine country they possess, the valuable resources at their command for acquiring all the comforts of civilised life, and the blessing connected with Christianity—peace, love, joy and the glorious hope of heaven. Six missionaries had schools in various parts of the country three months ago ; now they have all left, perhaps never to return. The time is not yet come for “the Ethiopian to stretch forth his hands unto God”.¹

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Owen proceeded to the Eastern Province, and when there was offered the position of chaplain at Fort Beaufort, which, however, he declined, as he still desired to give himself wholly to mission work. In 1839 he was in Cape Town, where we find him on 5 June giving an account of his labours in Natal at a meeting of the Church Missionary Society—the first gathering since the establishment of the Society, and apparently the last. As the confusion in Natal continued, and there seemed little hope of his being able to resume his labours there, Owen turned his steps to Mosega, in order to resume the work commenced by the French and the American missionaries among the Bahurutsi. He was accompanied on this expedition by Wallace Hewetson as lay assistant, but their attempt to settle at Mosega was as unsuccessful as those of the earlier societies. In 1841 Owen returned to the Cape Colony, after which his connection with the Church Missionary Society came to an end.² Gardiner had already left South Africa. After a fruitless attempt to plant the Gospel in New Guinea, he turned his attention to South America, and commenced a heroic and self-sacrificing work among the Fuegians. The sufferings which he and his band of fellow-workers endured there, and his own death from privation and hunger in September, 1851, form one of the most pathetic pages of modern missionary history.

Down to the date of Bishop Gray’s arrival in South Africa (1848) it may be said that the Church of England was doing nothing for the spread of the Gospel. The attempt of the Church Missionary Society to evangelise the Zulus had failed,

¹ Op. cit., p. 359.² He subsequently laboured at Goole, then at Crooks, near Sheffield ; and died of fever at Alexandria, Egypt, 14 Nov., 1854.

CHAP. and that Society has never since had a mission in South Africa.
XXIV. As for the S.P.G. it was spending, in 1848, £75 upon South Africa out of an annual income of £89,000. "No attempt," says Hewitt, "was made to gather into the Church's fold the multitude of heathen with whom the Colony abounded. While English, French and German societies of various denominations were sending out their missionaries, the Church of England was almost the only communion which was doing nothing for the conversion of the heathen within and around the Colony."¹

¹ "Sketches of English Church History in South Africa," p. 100.

CHAPTER XXV.

PROGRESS OF OTHER MISSIONS TO 1850.

Under the newer conception the missionary enterprise is no longer an expedition for the subjugation of other faiths and the destruction of other ideals; it is an ambassage for the emancipation of subject races from the fetters with which they are bound, and their incorporation into the empire of Christ. The missionary goes forth, not to impose a creed, but to evoke a richer faith; not to deny, but to affirm; not to destroy, but to fulfil.—BERNARD LUCAS.

I. MORAVIAN MISSIONS.

FOR twenty-three years, from 1817 to 1840, the Moravian Missions in South Africa were under the control of Bishop J. P. Hallbeck as superintendent, and they witnessed during that period a remarkable expansion. During the year 1816 the work in South Africa had been inspected by Bishop la Trobe, and it was in deference to the latter's suggestion that the third station of the Moravians was established in the Eastern Province, on a tributary of the Sunday River, and called Enon (1818). Almost from the commencement this station fell on evil days. In the year after its establishment it was plundered by Kafirs, who drove off 235 head of cattle belonging to its inhabitants. Presently it was a second time assaulted and nine Christian Hottentots were killed, after which it was for a time abandoned.

A new field of usefulness and philanthropic toil was opened to the Moravian Mission in 1823. The lepers in South Africa were a class of the community for whom at the outset no one cared, until Lord Charles Somerset established a Leper Asylum at a place called "Hemel-en-Aarde" in the Caledon division. Here some one hundred coloured unfortunates, belonging chiefly to the fishing community, were maintained at an annual cost of £1300. At first their religious needs were ministered

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CHAP. to by the Dutch Reformed clergyman of Caledon, but the latter XXV. had so many other duties devolving upon him that he asked to be excused, upon which Lord Charles Somerset invited the Moravians to undertake this self-denying task. As soon as a missionary could be spared, he was sent to the Leper Asylum, the first labourers being J. M. Leitner and his devoted wife. After six years of patient toil, Leitner died in 1829. When in 1846 the lepers were removed to Robben Island, the Moravian missionary Lehman accompanied them and took up his residence on that barren islet.

In 1824 another station, named Elim, was commenced some forty miles south-east of Genadendal; and four years later it was decided, at the invitation of Lord Charles Somerset, to break new ground and establish a sphere of work among the emigrant Tembus under their chief Bawana. Hallbeck, Fritsch and some natives undertook the preliminary tour of exploration. A site was selected near the present village of Whittlesea, and here Bawana pointed out a portion of land upon which arose the new station, called Shiloh. The difficulties with which the missionaries had to contend were in many cases almost disheartening. The chief, in spite of his voluble pretensions, was secretly antagonistic. His people were callous and indifferent. The station was exposed to repeated depredations at the hands of the lawless Kafirs. But, in spite of adversity, the work at Shiloh made speedy progress. The first Kafir converts were baptised in 1830, and by the end of 1835 more than 300 Tembus, as well as 150 Hottentots, attended Divine services on the Sabbath. A commencement had been made with translations into the Kafir language. The missionaries Fritsch and Bonatz erected a mill for wheat, which was a marvel of marvels to the natives for many miles around. A smithy was also established and agricultural pursuits vigorously undertaken.

Shiloh suffered greatly from the Kafir wars, though less so than most other mission stations. It was the only station which was not abandoned during the conflict of 1835, and in the war of 1846 it also escaped destruction. Meantime other stations had sprung up on the eastern border. In 1848 there was an attempt to form a strong Hottentot village on the Beka River, near Fort Peddie, and missionary Teutsch conducted a number of Hottentot families to the place. Owing,

however, to wars and rumours of wars, and to the dislike of the Hottentots to a life of such regularity and industry as the Moravians enforced, the station, which was called Mamre, had ultimately to be abandoned.

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Before this date the energetic superintendent of the mission had breathed his last. Hallbeck died in November, 1840, at the age of 57. When he arrived at the Cape there were but two stations with 1600 inhabitants; when he died, the number of stations had grown to seven, with a membership of 4500. Hallbeck was an able and far-seeing man, and under his strong hand the missions of the United Brethren in South Africa had made rapid strides. He was succeeded as superintendent by Teutsch, under whom the "forward policy" of his predecessor was continued, and several new centres—outposts as well as head stations—were occupied.

II. THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

In addition to the spheres of work that have been already described—Bethelsdorp, Griquatown, Bechuanaland, Namaqualand—the London Society established several other stations in the south. Of these some brief account must now be given.

The *Caledon Institution*, subsequently known as Zuurbraak, and situated not far from the present village of Swellendam, was commenced in 1811 amongst a remnant of the Attaqua tribe of Hottentots. Its first missionary was Seidenfaden, one of the original band to enter Namaqualand, but he caused the Society great trouble, and threw the affairs of the mission into direst confusion. A measure of order was restored when Henry Helm assumed the direction of affairs, and under his guidance and fostering care the Institution made better progress. Helm was a man of true devotion, the ancestor of a family which since then has been distinguished in the annals of South African missions. Before settling at the Caledon Institution he had served the Society for longer or shorter periods in Namaqualand, at Griquatown and at Bethelsdorp. His useful career came to an end with his death in 1848.

Another station was established in 1813 at *Hoogekraal*, near the present village of George. The Hottentots living here were the last members of the Outeniqua tribe, and the

CHAP. XXV. missionary sent to labour among them was Carl Pacalt, one of the men who had been trained at Jänicke's school in Berlin and at Bogue's institution at Gosport. Pacalt was a good man, imbued with true missionary ardour, and thoroughly devoted to the interests of the people among whom his brief career was run. After but eight years in the mission field and five at Hoogekraal, he passed to his reward in 1818, having bequeathed all his property, in value about £300, to the work at his beloved station. In token of the esteem in which he was held, not merely by his missionary colleagues, but by all classes of the inhabitants, the name of the station was changed after his death to *Pacaltsdorp*.

Another eminent missionary whose name is inseparably connected with this sphere of work is William Anderson, who, when he had completed twenty years of strenuous labour at Griquatown, removed to Pacaltsdorp in 1822. After having seen forty-seven years of active service Anderson retired in 1848, and died in 1852. The name of this pioneer missionary, who toiled for so many years in a barren soil, and proved nevertheless a most successful Christian worker, is inscribed in indelible characters upon the page of South African mission history. Of all the London Missionary Society's stations Pacaltsdorp approached most nearly to what the Board desired a station to be. "Pacaltsdorp," said a visitor in 1831, "is one of those places upon which the eyes look and the thoughts dwell with peculiar feelings and associations. Comparing what the place was when the mission was established with what it now is, it may well be said, 'What God hath wrought!'"

In 1814 a number of Hottentot families were settled between the Kariega and Kowie Rivers at a station which was named *Theopolis*. When the original founder, J. G. Ulbricht, died, in 1821, the station passed into the charge of George Barker, who continued his faithful work at this post until removed to Bethelsdorp. The population of this station was greatly weakened by the establishment of the Kat River settlement, to which some 100 families removed. One of the later workers at this centre was Christopher Sass, an Orange River veteran, who died here in 1849. Theopolis suffered much from the border conflicts. After having been twice unsuc-

cessfully attacked in the Fifth Kafir War, it was eventually plundered in 1851 and reduced to a heap of ruins.

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Up to a certain stage the London Mission confined its efforts, within the Cape Colony at least, to Hottentot tribes; but in 1816 a new departure was made. A site was selected on the *Kat River*, about two miles above the present town of Fort Beaufort, and there an earnest and devoted, but uneducated, man named Joseph Williams was stationed as missionary. The tribe among whom he had settled were Xosas, owning Gaika—the same chief with whom Van der Kemp had resided for a time—as their head. After two years of work, Williams died in 1818, and the attempt to evangelise the Xosa Kafirs was abandoned.

Acting on instructions issued by Sir Lowry Cole a settlement of Hottentots was established at the Kat River in 1829. A number of locations were formed, each divided into plots of from four to six acres in extent, and upon these more than 2000 Hottentots were settled. The inhabitants set to work with great vigour and enthusiasm, and in a short time the community was in a flourishing condition. To minister to the spiritual needs of the inhabitants, Dr. Philip appointed James Read; but the Governor also invited William R. Thomson to remove from Chumie to the new settlement, which invitation the latter accepted. Thomson established himself at a place which he called Balfour, and the half-breeds of the Kat River attached themselves to him, and formed a congregation which in 1832 joined the Dutch Reformed Church and has been connected with it ever since. Read gathered about himself the Hottentots, and established the village of Philipton as the centre of his missionary undertakings. Assisted by his son he continued his ministry, with one interval of three years, until 1851, when the settlement was destroyed during the progress of the Eighth Kafir War. In 1852, as has been already related, Read died.

In 1822 the Society became possessed of a portion of land, 4000 acres in extent, stretching along both banks of the Gamtoos River, for the sum of £1500. A portion of the surplus population of Bethelsdorp was drafted to the new station, which received the name of *Hankey*. The first missionary here was J. G. Messer. A notable improvement was effected

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XXV. at Hankey by William Philip, a son of Dr. Philip, who carried out successfully the great engineering feat of cutting a tunnel, and thus utilising the water of the Gamtoos to irrigate a large portion of the valley. The cost of this undertaking was £2500, of which amount the Society contributed £500, and the remainder was raised from the increased rentals of the lands. This promising young missionary was unfortunately drowned in the Gamtoos in 1845, to the great grief of his father, and to the serious loss of the mission.

The mission of Joseph Williams to Gaika's people having come to an end with his untimely death, the London Society had as yet no work among the *Kafirs proper*. In 1825, accordingly, overtures were made to John Brownlee, whose name has been already mentioned, to resume his connection with the Society, and commence mission work in the populous district peopled by Tshatshu's tribe along the eastern bank of the Buffalo River. Brownlee was not unwilling to undertake the task, and he founded a station at the site now occupied by King William's Town. Here he was assisted for a time by Kayser, whose name, however, is most intimately associated with Knapp's Hope on the Keiskama, where he laboured until his death in 1859.

Brownlee's station suffered, as did all the other mission stations in Kafraria, from the wars which raged between the natives and the Cape Government. In the war of 1835 his cattle was carried off and he was forced to flee, for Tshatshu, though willing, was unable to defend him. In the war of 1846-47 he relied again upon the faithfulness of Tshatshu and his clan, but was soon undeceived, for Tshatshu himself, the man who had professed Christianity and had been exhibited in London as the model convert, joined the insurgents, took part in the attack upon Fort Peddie, and stained his hands with the blood of innocent women and children. But amid all these alarms and vicissitudes of fortune Brownlee continued steadily at work. In collaboration with Kayser, he prepared a Kafir translation of the New Testament, which was widely used. In 1867 he retired from active service, and his death ensued in 1871. His memory is enshrined in a brass plate which graces the portico of the public offices of King William's Town : "TO THE MEMORY OF the Rev. John Brownlee, the

founder of King William's Town, born near Wishaw, Scotland, May 1st, 1791; died at King William's Town, December 21st, 1871: devoted as a missionary, beloved as a man, honoured as a self-sacrificing Christian workman, faithful as a friend to rich and poor, to civilised and barbarian, willing as a helper in every undertaking which promoted the moral and spiritual welfare of this community. By many, who knew his purity of life and admired his humility of character, is this *Tablet*, and the clock which adorns the tower of this building, erected in grateful remembrance."

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A word or two still falls to be said about the progress of the *Bechuana Mission*. In 1841 this branch of the London Society's work was strengthened by the addition of a man who was destined to write his name, more ineffaceably than any other, upon the history of South and Central Africa. David Livingstone (or Livingston, as he originally signed himself) arrived at Kuruman in July, 1841, and left Linyanti for his march to St. Paul de Loanda in September, 1853. The latter date may be considered as denoting the termination of his missionary activities in South Africa, and we have therefore to deal with the twelve years of David Livingstone's life as missionary, without taking note of the remaining twenty years of his career as intrepid explorer, man of science and man of letters.

Livingstone was from the first more of the pioneer and explorer than of the patient and persevering missionary. Accompanied by Roger Edwards he made, shortly after arriving in Bechuanaland, two trips into the interior of the country, from the second of which he brought back accounts of a large number of native tribes which up to that time had remained unknown. The first station occupied by him was Mabotsa, among the Bakhatla tribe. During his sojourn among this tribe he had Edwards as his coadjutor, and after his marriage, in 1844, to Moffat's eldest daughter Mary, the assistance of a noble and self-denying wife. In the course of 1846 differences arose between Livingstone and Edwards, and the former therefore judged it expedient to proceed to the Bakwena tribe, for whose chief Secheli he had conceived a high regard.

The Bakwena tribe was one of those which had been dispossessed and nearly exterminated by Moselekatse. After

CHAP. XXV. the defeat of the latter by the Boers, Secheli had obtained permission from Potgieter, the Boer leader, for his tribe to re-occupy their former territory. It was here that Livingstone found the Bakwena, and at Secheli's chief kraal Chonuane he built his second home. During this first year among the Bakwena a season of protracted drought was experienced. Water was scarce, fields were barren, and hunger stared the native community in the face. Livingstone thereupon proposed that they should remove *en masse* to a spot where water could be taken from a flowing river and used to irrigate the fields. This suggestion was promptly acted upon, and the whole tribe trekked away to the banks of the Kolobeng River, forty miles to the westward. Here Livingstone spent two years—this being his third home since 1843—and in 1849 he was again moving northwards, now to commence the succession of journeys which have made his name famous. In company with the hunters Oswell and Murray he crossed the Kalahari Desert and made his way to the Botletli River, by him called the Zouga, and ultimately to Lake Ngami, which they were the first white men to reach. A longer journey was undertaken in 1850, when Livingstone was accompanied by his wife and children. Their objective was Linyanti on the Zambezi River, but the expedition got no farther than Lake Ngami, when sickness compelled a return. In the following year, however, the long and perilous journey to Linyanti was successfully accomplished, and Livingstone made the acquaintance of the Makololo tribe, and their celebrated chief Sebituane. His success in reaching Sebituane inspired Livingstone with the desire of penetrating still more deeply into the unknown heart of the Dark Continent; and he accordingly resolved to send his wife and family to England, in order that he might be free for exploratory journeys inland. He thereupon proceeded to the Cape, which he reached in March, 1852, it being then the first time for eleven years that he had visited the scenes of civilisation. In June of the same year, after having despatched his wife and four children to England, he started for the north, and thus commenced those protracted and toilsome journeys which only ended with his death.

Some reference must necessarily be made to Livingstone's attitude towards the Boers. In his "Missionary Travels" he

has given us an account of the treatment to which the native tribes of the interior were subjected by the Boers, which has been very widely accepted as correct, but which is not borne out by the facts. Livingstone was undoubtedly a man of strong sympathies and strong antipathies, and that his feelings towards the Boers were antipathetic in the extreme no one who reads the volume just mentioned, or Blaikie's "Personal Life of David Livingstone," can think of denying. Attempts to establish a better relationship between him and the Transvaal emigrants were unsuccessful. In 1848 Dr. Robertson and Mr. Faure, two Dutch Reformed Church ministers of pronounced missionary sympathies, paid a pastoral visit to the settlers beyond the Vaal River. Livingstone was at that time anxious to establish a native teacher among one of the tribes living within the territory of the Boers. The two clergymen promised to use their influence with Potgieter in order to induce him to grant the missionary's request. Livingstone's published journal contains the following references to this meeting:—

Dec. 16.—Passed by invitation to Hendrik Potgieter. . . . Opposed to building a school. . . . Told him that if he hindered the Gospel the blood of these people would be required at his hand. He became much excited at this.

Dec. 17.—Met Dr. Robertson of Swellendam. Very friendly. Boers very violently opposed. . . . Went to Pilanies. Had large attentive audiences on the way home.

In their account of what occurred on this occasion, Messrs. Robertson and Faure make the following remarks:—

We promised to speak with the commandants on the subject, when they declared themselves not opposed to the spread of the Gospel, but, on the contrary, willing to assist in promoting it, especially if Moravian or Dutch missionaries came to labour among the natives. They stated, however, that they could not comply with Dr. Livingstone's request, because he provided the natives with firearms and ammunition, adding that shortly before the inhabitants of one kraal had destroyed those of another by means of firearms obtained from him. They declared themselves ready to maintain this statement in presence of Dr. Livingstone. This we communicated to him, on which he mentioned to us that he had given some guns and ammunition to a certain party who pretended that they were going out on an elephant hunt, but who, instead of doing so, had gone to attack a neighbouring kraal. We therefore proposed to Dr. Livingstone to meet the commandants, when the question between him and them might be explained, and the matter respecting the stationing of native teachers be satisfactorily settled. To this proposal he gave his consent,

CHAP. and it was agreed that the interview should take place immediately after XXV. the religious service, which was soon to commence. When the commandants, however, came to our apartment for the purpose of meeting Dr. Livingstone he was not to be found, having left the place during the time of Divine service. We were afterwards informed that he had been warmly disputing with some of the farmers, telling them among other things that they were British subjects. Whether he knew that by these disputings he had aroused an angry feeling against him, which was certainly the case, and on that account thought it more prudent to depart previous to the proposed interview, we are unable to determine.¹

The antagonism between the Boers and Livingstone's protégé Secheli came to a head in 1852, when the latter gave harbourage to a neighbouring chief who was "wanted" by the Republican Government for cattle-lifting. A commando under Commandant Scholtz was sent against Secheli to demand the surrender of the fugitive chief, and if the demand were refused, to attack Secheli's kraal. The Bakwena chief not only refused to comply with the commandant's demand, but also sent him defiant and insulting messages. On 30 August an assault was delivered upon the Bakwena position, and after six hours of fighting some important defences were captured. Night, however, put an end to hostilities for the time being, and when a new day broke upon the scene it was found that the Bakwena had fled, leaving only the women, the children and a few cattle behind. A patrol which was sent to Kolobeng reported that Dr. Livingstone's house had been found broken open, and his books and other goods destroyed. Livingstone himself was on his return journey from Cape Town, and only learnt of this disaster when he reached Kuruman. The account therefore which he gives in his letter to his wife dated "Kuruman, 20th September, 1852"² is founded upon statements which must have been made by Secheli himself or by other fugitive Bakwena. There is no proof of Livingstone's assertion that the Boers broke into his house and plundered his possessions.³

III. THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH.

When in 1803 the Cape was handed over to the Batavian Government, the Dutch Reformed Church received, for the

¹ Quoted by Theal: "History of South Africa since 1795," III, p. 378.

² Quoted in Blaikie's "Personal Life of David Livingstone," p. 133 (ed. 1).

³ Fuller particulars in the Appendix, Note R.

first time, a measure of autonomy. Up to that time it had been a mere offshoot and appanage of the Reformed Church of Holland, and was ecclesiastically attached to the Classis or Presbytery of Amsterdam. All matters of larger importance had to be referred to that body, which also alone exercised the right of ordaining and sending out ministers for the congregations at the Cape. The old order of things was ended by the promulgation of the *Ordinance* of Commissary-General de Mist, dated 25 July, 1804, by which the Colonial Church was rendered independent of the control of the Mother Church in Holland. Complete ecclesiastical independence it did not, however, obtain. De Mist's conception of the relation between Church and State was thoroughly Erastian. The decisions of all Church courts were rigidly subject to the approbation or the veto of the Government. Without the consent of the Government no congregation could be established, no minister appointed, and no Church meetings—whether of consistory, presbytery or synod—held. At all meetings of the consistory a political commissioner, generally the landdrost of the district, was present, by whom the decisions arrived at were transmitted to the Government for approval or dissent. When the first Synod of the Church assembled in Cape Town in 1824 two political commissioners—Sir John Truter, Chief Justice, and Mr P. J. Truter, member of the Court of Justice—took their seats as Government assessors, and exercised the strictest control over the discussions. At the conclusion of the synodical meetings, the first-named commissioner drew up a report of all matters discussed and all resolutions adopted, which report was despatched by the Government to England, in order to receive the royal assent. There the report was evidently shelved, for nothing further was heard of the matter. With such difficulties had the Colonial Church to contend in the early days of its quasi-independent existence.

Besides the irksome control to which it was subjected, there was another reason which prevented the Dutch Reformed Church from undertaking mission work on any extensive scale. As was the case during the earlier centuries, so too during the first half of the nineteenth, the Church had the utmost difficulty in supplying its own congregations with pastors. The number of ministers ready to come out to South Africa from Hol-

CHAP. land was wholly inadequate to the needs of the Colony. Few
XXV. South Africans born could afford the great expense of a five
or six years' sojourn in Holland. From time to time young
clergymen were secured in Scotland,¹ or members of the Lon-
don Mission² were persuaded to accept pastorates in Dutch
Reformed congregations. The work within the Cape Colony
was not yet duly organised, nor the congregations supplied
with ministers, when the "Great Trek" commenced in 1836,
adding yet another serious problem to those which the young
Church had already to face. For months and years the emi-
grants lived in wagons and tents: no settled charges could
therefore be established among them, no regular ministry could
be introduced; and the Church was obliged to send frequent
delegations, consisting generally of two clergymen, to make
prolonged pastoral tours among the expatriated portion of
their countrymen.

That in spite of these urgent calls upon her energies the Dutch Reformed Church was not insensible of its duty towards the heathen, is evidenced by the fact that in one of the earliest sessions of its first Synod (1824) a Committee was appointed to consider the best means of organising mission work, and providing for the ordination of missionaries to the heathen. At the instance of this Committee the first missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church was ordained in 1826, in the person of Leopold Marquard, who was then already engaged in mission work at Clanwilliam. When the Church was freed from the incubus of State control in 1847, it was also decided to extend and consolidate the missionary undertakings within Cape Colony. The spirit which animated the ministers of the Church may be gauged from the following extract from the minutes of Synod (21 Oct., 1847):—

The Praeses (Dr. P. E. Faure) enlarged at length on the unmerited reproach cast upon the Dutch Reformed Church, as though it were indifferent to the propagation of the Gospel, and did not concern itself about the spiritual interests of the heathen population of this Colony, the contrary of which the Right Rev. gentleman showed by the enumeration of several facts. . . . The meeting was evidently permeated with the feeling

¹ Such as the Rev. Andrew Murray of Graaff Reinet, and the Rev. Alexander Smith of Uitenhage.

² Such as Revs. J. J. Kicherer, J. Taylor, J. Evans, W. R. Thomson and others.

and conviction that this General Assembly must adopt strenuous measures for the extension of the Kingdom of our Saviour, without as well as within the Colony. The Praeses hereupon proposed : "That a Committee be appointed by the Synod for the promotion of the knowledge of the Gospel in this country, by the appointment of travelling missionaries in the various parishes"—which proposal was unanimously adopted.

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The Committee appointed by this decision of Synod did its utmost to find missionaries, and was successful in securing the services of Messrs. Johann Kretzen, who laboured in the district of Ladismith, and afterwards at George, and showed himself to be one of the most faithful and successful workers in South Africa ; J. R. Keet, who was appointed to Swellendam ; D. P. Ter Burgh, who settled at Plettenbergs Bay ; and M. Noome, who was stationed at Graaff Reinet.¹ The work thus initiated among the Cape Hottentots formed the nucleus of what is now known as the *Binnenlandsche Zending*—the Inland or Home Mission—of the Church, so called because it lies within the bounds of the established congregations of the Cape Colonial Church.

¹ Another worker, H. van Blokhuizen, was appointed to Wynberg, but died a month afterwards.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SURVEY OF SOUTH AFRICAN MISSIONS IN 1850.

THE BUSHMEN'S CAVE.

There lie their bows, their arrows keen,
Whilst on the fire an earthen pot
Holds, simmering slowly, foul and green,
The arrow-poison's foetid clot.

There lies an antelope, fresh killed,
By hungry stomachs close surrounded,
And there's a wicker-basket filled
With luscious locusts, freshly pounded ;

And look, the glowing coals upon
A scaly snake is quickly toasting,
Whilst on the ledge, there in the sun,
The hunters of their deeds are boasting.

Poor waifs upon Creation's skirts,
Your melancholy history
To men of earnest minds asserts
A problem, and a mystery.

Whence came ye ? Wherefore did ye live
To wither from the sphere of being ?
And why did Nature to you give
No ears to hear, nor eyes for seeing ?

Ye sank from something higher far,
And distanced in life's struggling race,
Your last and failing remnants are
Erasèd from off the great world's face.

WILLIAM CHARLES SCULLY.

CHAP. WE have now reached a stage in the history of South African
XXVI. Missions at which it would be well to pause and estimate the progress made. A brief survey of the field already occupied is first necessary, after which we may inquire into the general results of the contact between white civilisation and the native communities during the first half of the century.

We may begin our survey with Namaqualand, that barren,

waterless and unproductive tract of country lying along the western sea-board. Hither had come in the early part of the century first the London and then the Wesleyan Society. The most efficient and permanent work in this field was done, however, not by Englishmen, but by Germans, such as the Albrechts, Schmelen and Helm, who were in the employ of the London Mission. Gradually the work which had been inaugurated by the two societies already mentioned passed into the hands of the Rhenish Society. It seems as if the toilsome effort of carrying the Gospel to a nation so fickle and shallow as the Hottentots had needs be entrusted by God to the patient and persevering German brethren. These brethren enjoyed the privilege also of evangelising the Herero people, among whom the Gospel was slower indeed in taking root, but richer in final and permanent results. Four stations established among the Hottentots and three among the Herero, indicate the progress of the Rhenish Mission up to 1850.

At this date the Wesleyan Society had two flourishing stations among the Hottentots in this territory, one in Great Namaqualand (Nisbett Bath), and one in Little Namaqualand (Leliefontein, in the Kamiesbergen). They had also attempted, during the forties, to establish themselves among Afrikaner's people in Hereroland, but the work had ultimately to be relinquished, and handed over to the Rhenish Society.

In Cape Colony proper, which is the next field to be surveyed, the earliest society was the Moravian, which for many years occupied only the two stations Genadendal and Groene Kloof (Mamre). After Hallbeck had become their superintendent, however, they began to strike out in new directions, and succeeded in establishing, besides their self-denying work among the lepers, three other stations, one of which was in Kafraria. The work done by the Moravian missionaries never failed to commend itself both to the Government and to the colonists, for they exercised a wise discipline over their converts, and were especially firm in insisting upon habits of thrift and industry. The experience of more than fifty years had proved that the Moravians, to a greater extent than perhaps any other society, conducted their missions on principles that were best suited both to the character of the Hottentots and the needs of the Colony.

The work of the London Missionary Society among the Hottentots commenced with the arrival of Van der Kemp in 1799. One sphere of work after another was occupied until by 1850 there were six stations among the Hottentots and three among the Kafirs. Upon the roll of London Society missionaries are to be found some of the most eminent of South African mission workers; but on the other hand no Society suffered so much because of the presence in its ranks of men of inferior capacity. Both classes of workers drew down upon the Society the severest criticism, the eminent men because of their too ardent advocacy of the cause of the natives, and the feeble men because of their inadequate attainments and imperfect methods of work. Nevertheless, after the pioneering stage was over, and a secure foundation had been laid, the work of the mission made great progress, and the London Society was the first, as we shall see later on, to grant autonomy to its various stations, and make them self-supporting and self-directing congregations.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society came upon the scene in 1814, and began to develop with great rapidity after the arrival of William Shaw in 1820. Shaw was a man of a wide outlook and great executive ability, and under his direction a chain of mission stations was erected which stretched into the very heart of Kafraria. No society made anything like the rapid progress that the Wesleyan Society made, though it may be doubted whether the work spread over so wide an area was as deep and as lasting as that of other missions. By 1850 there were six stations at and near Cape Town, while the number of stations in the Eastern Province and in Kafraria was at least twenty-five. It must, however, be clearly understood that the Wesleyans have never made a distinction between their colonial and their mission work, but in giving statistics have always grouped both together.

Kafraria, with its heavy population and numerous tribes, was from the first a favourite field of missionary effort. Besides the two societies just mentioned, the following bodies were at work in that field in the middle of the century : the Free and United Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, the Berlin Missionary Society and the Moravian Church. Though the stations they had manned were few as compared with those established by

their enterprising Wesleyan brethren, their work rested nevertheless upon a very secure foundation, and the influence which they exercised was gradually permeating all classes of the native community.

Lastly, we must not forget, before closing our survey of mission agencies in the Cape Colony, to mention the less stirring but patient and fruitful work done by the Rhenish Mission in such towns as Stellenbosch, Worcester, Carnarvon (Schietfontein) and their surrounding districts; and that of the Dutch Reformed Church at Zoar, Clanwilliam, Swellendam, Graaff Reinet and other centres. The descendants of the old Hottentot clans, and the slaves emancipated in 1834, were by these societies richly provided with the means of grace.

Passing on in our survey to Bechuanaland we find the London Mission, which had first laboured among the Griquas only, now firmly established among the Bechuana tribes also, and pushing its outposts ever farther and farther into the unknown north. The language had been reduced to writing, a small literature created, and Moffat was hard at work completing his translation of the Bible into Sechuana. The French and American brethren had attempted to establish themselves in Moselekatse's domains, but each mission in turn had been compelled to withdraw, and a little work among Bahurutsi fugitives at Motito (soon to be relinquished likewise) was all that the Paris Society had to show of its original undertaking.

In the extensive area subsequently to be known as the Orange Free State the Berlin Society had two stations among the Koranna Hottentots, the London Mission one at Philipolis among Adam Kok's Griquas, and the Wesleyans two among the mixed populations of Thaba Nchu and Platberg. Then too the Paris Mission was firmly established along the Caledon River and in the territory of Moshesh, and had already made marvellous progress in the christianisation of the great Basuto nation. This Mission had, in 1850, eleven stations and sixteen missionaries, not counting lady workers.

Finally—to complete our survey—Natal and Zululand were being gradually occupied by the emissaries of the Gospel. The American Board, the earliest to enter this field, had also by 1850 the most effective agency at work, counting twelve stations and nineteen missionaries. They had produced sev-

CHAP. eral small books in the language, had established churches and
XXVI. schools, and were entering upon a period of prosperity and rich blessing. The Berlin Society had also found a footing in Natal, the Wesleyans were settled at Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and since 1844 the Norwegian Missionary Society, under the direction of Schreuder, had secured an entrance into Zululand.

Such then was the distribution of missionary agencies when the second half of the nineteenth century commenced. It will be noticed that, with the exception of the French Mission, no Society had a compact and homogeneous field, and even this Mission still possessed one station far removed from the others in Bechuanaland. All other societies, one or two small bodies excepted, were scattered at various centres and among different tribes. The Wesleyan Missions stretched from Namaqualand on the western sea-board to Natal on the eastern coast. The Rhenish missionaries preached to Dutch-speaking coloured people, Namaqua-speaking Hottentots, and Bantu-speaking Herero. The London Society was working among Hottentots, Kafirs and Bechuana. At a single station (Bethanie) the Berlin missionaries were obliged to employ three languages—Dutch, Namaqua (Koranna) and Sechuana.

During this period, apparently, the necessity of apportioning fields to individual societies, and leaving them in undisturbed possession, had not yet asserted itself as a principle of missionary praxis—if, indeed, it has even now done so. An exchange of individual stations was a not infrequent occurrence, and the evacuation of a whole field, such as that of Great Namaqualand by the Wesleyans, took place from time to time. Though missionary enterprise had passed the pioneering and experimental stage, and was being conducted in accordance with certain well-defined methods and principles, we shall not be far wrong in saying that the forces of the various societies were not yet co-ordinated as sections of one great army. The subjugation of South Africa was being attempted in similar fashion to the conquest of Canaan by the several tribes of Israel. Each Society was fighting, so to speak, for its own hand. Concerted action there was none. There was no well-recognised plan of campaign, and no organised attempt on the part of the combined societies to capture the strongholds of the enemy.

Nevertheless the societies, though not working in perfect unison for the attainment of a clearly defined object, had each made a perceptible impression upon the mass of heathendom. Each Society had, according to its own genius, contributed its share towards solving the question of the evangelisation of South Africa. The London Society had aimed at awakening in the native a feeling of self-respect, and at developing his dormant power of self-government. The Wesleyans with their vigour, their initiative and their complete organisation, had inspired the native with something of their own brisk energy. The Scotch Mission had aimed from the first at laying sound foundations, and were by precept and example teaching their converts the prime necessity of thoroughness. The German Missionary Societies—Moravian, Rhenish and Berlin—emphasised the need of discipline, order and industry. The French missionaries, themselves the descendants of ancestors who had learnt to “rejoice in tribulation,” left upon their converts the impress of their own simple piety and joyous faith. The brethren of the American Board brought the energy and enterprise of the newest civilisation to bear upon the institutions of one of the oldest barbarisms, and proved once again that Christianity is the only permanent civilising influence. The Dutch Reformed Church typified the cautious attitude of the older colonists who knew that, even in the best type of native, the old Adam is frequently too strong for young Melanchthon, and while unobtrusively pursuing its missionary purpose, was careful as to whom it admitted to membership in the visible Church of Christ. Plainly, there were great diversities of gifts among the various bodies at work in the South African mission field, but they were animated, nevertheless, by one and the same Spirit.

In estimating the progress made by Christian missions we may not forget that the first half of the nineteenth century was a time of great and frequent disturbances, which could not but react detrimentally upon missionary enterprise. Friction and conflict between the native tribes themselves, as well as between natives and Europeans, were the rule rather than the exception. It was only during the second half of the century that a period of comparative peace and quietness was reached. Wars of religious persecution against Christians,

CHAP. such as those which ravaged Madagascar, are happily unknown
 XXVI. in South Africa. The civil and political wars, however, which during the period under review, raged in South Africa, were sufficiently serious. Missionaries mostly settled among the tribes under great disadvantages. For themselves they could have no security of tenure, and might at any moment be compelled to evacuate their station, and withdraw to a situation of safety. The tribes among which their labours lay were at all times liable to be dispersed by the onset of more powerful tribes, and they would have to face the choice of *either* leading an unsettled existence with a vagrant community, or relinquishing the work altogether. When we consider the circumstances of the time we ought to marvel, not at the comparatively slow progress of missions during these fifty years, but at the rapid expansion of the enterprise in the face of great difficulties and many obstacles.

It may be worth while inquiring what the actual results were of the contact between white civilisation and black heathendom. Looked at from the point of view of the native races, that contact produced results both evil and good, both hurtful and helpful. Civilisation (so-called) in most cases preceded evangelisation, and in such cases the influences brought to bear upon the natives were chiefly evil, we might almost say *wholly* evil. The trader was in many instances a mere adventurer, to whom the restraints of society, law and religion had become irksome, and who had cast in his lot with native tribes in order to be able to live as he liked. Muskets, powder and lead, and brandy, belonged to the staple articles of his trade. His knowledge of the native language and of native habits and character, soon gave him a position of supreme influence in the tribe in whose midst he chose to settle. It need hardly be said that both by reason of the nefarious trade which he carried on, and the low type of character which he personified, the un-christian trader exercised over the natives a most demoralising influence. If there is one thing which the study of missions to the heathen teaches more surely than another, it is this, that civilisation *minus* Christianity, far from being an unmixed blessing to native races, is an unmitigated curse.

The wars waged by Europeans against blacks, the effect of which has been to restrict the latter within ever narrower

territorial limits, have also been adduced as proof of the hurtful results of the impact of civilisation upon savagery. Writers on the history of missions in South Africa have invariably represented the conflicts between the colonial authorities and the native tribes as wars of oppression, by which the former sought to extend their territory at the expense of the latter. Dr. Warneck, for example, the great authority on mission history and mission principles, affirms roundly: "Dutch and English colonists . . . are at one in the policy of oppressing the natives. This policy is as old as South African colonisation, and forms a dark chapter in the history of colonial politics, which, wherever we turn, is so rich in bloody and dirty pages. In the south and west of the Colony the oppression was carried through violently enough, indeed, but still without any actual wars, while in the east bloody Kafir wars have repeatedly been waged."¹

Readers of the present volume who have perused with care the account which has been given of the causes of the various Kafir outbreaks, and who have carefully considered the evidence which has been adduced,² will see how far beside the mark these strictures of Dr. Warneck are. Such evidence could be multiplied from the contemporary records, not of the colonists, whose testimony would probably be rejected as biased, but of the missionaries themselves. Let the words of one other witness, whose evidence has not yet been heard, here suffice. The Rev. George Brown, missionary at Igqibira, writing immediately after the war of 1851-52, says:—

I well remember the deep interest that was taken in the native races of South Africa in those religious circles in which it was my happiness to mingle before I left my native land, and know the feelings that are cherished by the pious and benevolent there in reference to especially the Caffre tribes here. Then too I cherished all those same feelings. . . . Measures of injustice and oppression I had thought to be carried out against the "poor natives" by both the colonists and the Government, and that only the missionaries understood and practised the proper mode of treating them. Here I found the Government seeking in every way to raise those natives from the most wretched barbarism to a state of civilisation and comfort. The establishment of missions was encouraged,

¹ "History of Protestant Missions" (Robson's trans.), p. 208; eighth German ed., p. 274.

² See Chaps. XV and XVI and the notes on them in the Appendix.

CHAP. assistance given to build schools, and salaries granted for native teachers ;
 XXVI. the materials too for decently clothing those who waited upon their instruction, were liberally distributed by Government among the missionaries. And no interference whatever took place with native freedom or laws or customs, save such as shocked alike humanity and morality. But these were just the things the repression of which the natives were least disposed to bear—hence the outbreak. It is in reality a war of despotism against freedom, of barbarism against humanity—the grossest licentiousness kicking at the first restraints of morality.¹

But now, granting that in South Africa the conflicts between Europeans and natives have been precipitated for the most part by the aggression of the latter, must it not be confessed that the net result of these collisions has always been to leave the native dispossessed of another portion of his contracting territory ? That native chiefs have from time to time been deprived of areas which they once occupied or to which they laid claim, may be freely conceded. But the case may be easily overstated. Let us take one or two concrete instances. It must be remembered that the territory ruled over by Chaka was not originally his, but was acquired by conquest. His kingdom was erected upon the ruins of scores of tribes, which he either wholly exterminated or partially incorporated in the Zulu nation. Moselekatse again acquired his title to the country over which he professed to rule by carrying fire and sword into it, and scattering the inhabitants to the four winds. When the emigrant farmers attempted to settle in the waste lands between the Orange and Vaal Rivers during the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, they were, as we have seen, subjected to unprovoked attacks on the part of Moselekatse, and the final result of the conflict between the two was that the Matabele chieftain was driven beyond the Limpopo River, and his kingdom broken up. To the territory thus acquired by the emigrants, native tribes that had been dispossessed by Moselekatse were permitted to return.

The whole question of the permanent occupancy by inferior nations and tribes of a great extent of territory must be viewed in a larger light. As Benjamin Kidd has pointed out in his “Control of the Tropics,” it is not to be expected that any rights to extensive territories will be acknowledged, which are

¹ Brown: “Personal Adventure in South Africa” (Lond., 1855), pp. vi, vii.

not "based on the intention and ability to develop those regions". This intention and this ability the natives do not possess ; and nations of greater culture and virility must show them the way. Extension of territory on the part of vigorous and enterprising nations is therefore a necessity from which we cannot hope to escape. "If the white man has any right at all [in the countries which he has colonised], he is there in the name of civilisation ; if our civilisation has any right there at all, it is because it represents higher ideals of humanity, a higher type of social order."¹ Colonisation, in short, though it has been and still is attended with many evils, has also effected much good, and is destined, in the good providence of God, to bestow inestimable blessings upon the native races of South Africa.

The commandoes undertaken by the colonists against the Bushman race have been widely regarded, especially by Barrow, Philip and Pringle, as wholly indefensible and unchristian. Philip's words are as follows : "In the year 1774 the whole race of Bushmen or Hottentots who had not submitted to servitude was ordered to be seized or extirpated ; the privilege of slavery was designed exclusively for the women and children ; the men, whose natural habits disqualify them for the purposes of the colonists, and whose revenge was probably dreaded, were destined to death".² Pringle, writing in 1834, speaks of "the legalised butcheries of the Bushman race, which were incessantly going on while I myself was in the Colony, and of which only a small portion has been recorded in the works of Thompson and Philip".³ These are serious charges against the Government and colonists of the Cape, the truth of which must be seriously inquired into. The evidence is unanimous that such commandoes were organised against the Bushmen, and that many hundreds of that unfortunate race were shot down. The circumstances under which this first occurred were as follows : during the last quarter of the eighteenth century the northern border of the Cape Colony was the scene of constant broils between the farmers and their inveterate enemies, the Bushmen.

¹ Kidd: "Control of the Tropics," p. 54.

² "Researches in S. Africa," I, p. 42.

³ "Narrative of a Residence in South Africa," p. 242.

CHAP. XXVI. The latter had been forced gradually to retire as the wave of colonisation rolled northward, and they now occupied the mountain fastnesses of the Roggeveld Range, from which secure strongholds they raided the flocks and herds of the farmers. Cattle, sheep and goats were driven off in large numbers, the Hottentot herdsmen were frequently murdered, and even the lives of the Europeans themselves were not always secure. It was impossible to establish peaceable relations with these wild Ishmaelites of the South African desert ; their hand was against every man, and every man's hand against them. At a later stage, in 1798, attempts were indeed made by that good and humane field-cornet Floris Visser, to make peace with the Bushmen, by supplying them with cattle and making them periodical presents ;¹ but the attempts were not permanently successful. The individual who received the gifts refrained for a time from open hostilities, but no other member of the race considered himself in the least bound by a compact entered into between a fellow-Bushman and a white man. The depredations, therefore, were soon resumed.

Irritated beyond endurance by the thefts and murders committed by their troublesome neighbours, the colonists appealed to the Government to assist them in driving the Bushmen from their rocky retreats. A commando was authorised, and in 1774 it took the field in three divisions, consisting of burghers, half-breeds and Hottentots respectively. The directions issued to Commandant Opperman, the chief in command, were very precise, and a portion of those directions is here transcribed :—

So soon as the attack shall, in the manner stated, have been commenced, and when the robbers shall have been driven out of their dens and lurking places, beyond, or to the farther side of, the most remote dwellings of the inhabitants of the said districts, the commanders of the said parties shall not pursue them in an inconsiderate manner, and expose their men to needless danger, but on the contrary shall employ every possible means of entering into an amicable negotiation with them, and thus endeavour to bring them to a cessation of hostilities and to a peace ; to which end, on finding them so disposed, you will enter into a treaty with them, presenting to them, as a proof of our disposition to take them under our protection, a moderate portion of the said tobacco and other bagatelles and trinkets, together with the promise of giving to them, in

¹ Theal: "Hist. of S. Africa since 1795," I, p. 58.

the event of their conducting themselves peaceably towards our inhabitants, and leaving them unmolested, some farms to reside upon.

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In the event, however, of your being unable to dispose them in any way whatsoever to the proposals above detailed, and should necessity thus demand that they should be entirely subdued and destroyed, it is left to your good management to act therein according to the exigencies and circumstances of the case, and to attack and slay them in such manner . . . that no blood shall be spilled without absolute necessity, and that as much as shall be by any means possible, the women and the defenceless males shall be spared.

And as it is evident that you will, in the attack, get possession of many of the wives and the children of the said Bosjesmans Hottentots, and that they will be troublesome to you, it is therefore left to you again to release the women, but you will keep the adult and the young (*de weerbare en aankomende*) males in safe custody, until this expedition is ended and all is restored to quiet, when you will let them go, or divide them in proportions among the poorest of the inhabitants there, in order to continue to serve them for a fixed and equitable term of years, in consideration of their receiving proper maintenance, for which purpose some of them must be brought hither.¹

Opperman's force scoured the country for some hundreds of miles along the great mountain range, and the Bushmen who refused to surrender were shot. From the reports made by Opperman and his subordinate officers at the time it appears that "the Hottentots [*sic*] whom he fell in with in those quarters opposed themselves to him, and the force under him, with such fury, that he found himself compelled to resort to force; there being in sundry attacks 265 of the said robbers shot dead, and 129 men, women or children taken prisoners; while on the other hand some of his men, and he (Opperman) himself, had been wounded, or struck by poisoned arrows, though no lives had been lost in consequence; and further, that at the so-called captain's kraal and at Buffels River he had appointed two Hottentots, who evinced a peaceful disposition, as captains over their kraals, giving each of them a copper-headed staff, and presenting them with some beads, copper rings and some pounds of tobacco".² Additional reports showed that the total number of Bushmen killed was 503, while 241 were taken prisoner. Of these last some were after-

¹ Moodie: "Evidence of the Motives and Objects of the Bushman Wars," p. 29.

² Ibid., p. 40.

CHAP. wards released, and others were distributed among the farmers
XXVI. to serve them for a term of years.

In subsequent years similar expeditions were frequently organised against the predatory Bushmen, and it would appear that in most cases, if not in all, efforts were first put forth to induce them to surrender and live at peace with their European neighbours. Pringle, indeed, professes to give instances in which Bushman communities were attacked by a body of colonists and shot in cold blood; but it is doubtful whether his accounts can be accepted without qualification. The only case of which he had knowledge at first hand proves the opposite of his contention.

I wrote to the landdrost (he says) urging that some plan should if possible be devised, combining protection to the colonists with mercy to the outlaws, for putting an end to this state of things [viz. the constant depredations of the Bushmen]. Commandoes of Boers were then sent out after the usual mode, but these the outlaws contrived to baffle or elude. At length they were surrounded in one of their fastnesses on the Koonap River by a strong party of military and burgher militia, and summoned to surrender. But their leaders, either having no hope of pardon, or determined rather to perish than return to servitude, refused to capitulate, and made a desperate attempt to break through the environing force. One or two, it is said, succeeded; but Dragoener [their chief captain] and most of his boldest comrades being slain, the rest were taken prisoners and the band effectually broken up.¹

From the evidence adduced we may conclude, therefore, that the colonists regarded their commandoes against the Bushmen as measures of self-defence against a troublesome and implacable foe, and that these commandoes were conducted in as humane a manner as was possible under the circumstances. It is not improbable that individual colonists, goaded to anger by the repeated descents of the Bushmen upon their live-stock, may have taken the law into their own hands, and shot down the marauders without parley or quarter. But the official commandoes, it is plain, did their best to induce the Bushmen to surrender, and only proceeded to extremities when their offers of peace were disregarded or rejected.

After the commencement of the nineteenth century the Bushmen were in a diminishing degree a source of trouble and anxiety to the colonial authorities. They were dislodged from

¹ "Narrative of a Residence," p. 235.

their retreats in the Roggeveld and Nieuwveld Ranges, and driven north of the Orange, though some sought an asylum in the Winterberg Mountains, in the present divisions of Tarkastad and Fort Beaufort. North of the Orange River they were hunted down relentlessly by the Griquas, who, being partly of Hottentot blood, were animated by a hereditary hatred towards them. The Bantu tribes, too, who looked upon them as little better than wild animals, contributed their share towards the process of extermination ; and at the present time the Bushmen race is represented only by a few scattered families, who seek a precarious subsistence in the driest and most inaccessible portions of the Kalahari Desert.

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Could the Bushman people be christianised and civilised ? This is a question which has been frequently asked, and answered by many, with considerable confidence, in the negative. Dr. Theal, for example, in the latest edition of his standard "History of South Africa" says : "It can now be asserted in positive language that these people were incapable of adopting European civilisation. During the first half of the nineteenth century agents of various missionary societies made strenuous efforts for their improvement, and often believed that they had in some cases succeeded, and in others were in a fair way towards success. . . . In their reports Bushmen were represented as having become civilised and Christian. But no one else ever saw these transformed savages, and no trace of them exists at the present day. . . . Apart from missionary teaching also, many persons tried during long years to induce families of Bushmen to abandon their savage habits, and there were even experiments in providing groups of them with domestic cattle, in order to encourage a pastoral life, but all without success. To this day there has not been a single instance of a Bushman of pure blood having permanently adopted the habits of a white man, though a few mixed breeds are to be found among the least skilful class of labourers in some parts of the country."¹

This is probably too strong a statement of the antipathy of the Bushmen to a settled life, and their incapacity for Christianity and civilisation. Of all races inhabiting the African continent, the Bushmen were in all likelihood the lowest in the

¹ Theal : "History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795," I, pp. 25-26.

CHAP. scale of civilisation, possessing no fields, no cattle, no houses, XXVI. and no implements other than their bows and arrows. Their language was poor, possessing no word for a number higher than three, and their intellect was in many respects as stunted as their bodily form. By the Bantu and Hottentot tribes who surrounded them they were regarded as standing upon the same level, socially, as the beasts of the field.¹ But in spite of his degraded state, the Bushman was responsive to humane treatment, and was in many cases domesticated and trained to simple duties by the farmers of the northern and north-eastern border. Nor must we forget that, though the mission to the Bushmen on the Zak River was eventually relinquished as having produced no result, the labours of Erasmus Smit at Tooverberg (now Colesberg) were to a great degree successful.

It may be contended that the Bushmen living in the vicinity of the Tooverberg were not pure Bushmen, but were largely of Hottentot descent.² But, whether of pure race or not, there can be no doubt that the work commenced among them by the London Mission in 1814 was one of great promise, and it must be considered as exceedingly unfortunate that the Colonial Government saw fit to recall the missionaries, and to direct them to labour within the colonial boundary. To the success of Smit's efforts testimony is borne by the Rev. A. Faure, then minister of Graaff Reinet, who says: "Some of the Bushmen whom Mr. Smit baptised had acquired very rational ideas of the principles of the Christian religion, and appeared to feel its constraining influence on their habitual conduct. They were zealous in trying to convey the same inestimable blessing to their unhappy countrymen who live without God and without hope in the world. It was delightful to hear the children sing

¹ On one of his journeys the writer was able to verify this by personal experience. He was outspanned, in 1907, at the Kobis well in the northern Kalahari Desert, when a party of Bushmen approached, and proceeded to fill their ostrich-shell cups from the well. A Mosuto man, who was also present, observed: "They are just animals, nothing more; they wear no clothes; they till no fields; they build no huts; roots, caterpillars and offal are their food. Animals are they." And then after a pause, he added reflectively: "And yet they are not animals, for when I tell them to do a thing, they obey".

² Colonel Collins, who visited them in 1809, says: "They differed in size, some being as small and ugly as those living near the Zak River, others as tall as the colonial Hottentots, well-made, and with countenances rather prepossessing".

the praises of Jehovah, and to witness the progress they had made in spelling and reading. These facts, which have come under my own observation, prove that the conversion of this race of immortal beings is not impossible.”¹ Faure’s opinion is to a great degree endorsed by Colonel Collins, who in the first decade of the nineteenth century travelled extensively in South Africa, and instituted careful inquiries into the condition and treatment of the native tribes.² We have, therefore, reason to conclude that the Bushman race, utterly mean and degraded though it was, was nevertheless not beyond the reach of the Gospel. It needed but the presence of another apostolic man of the stamp of Allen Gardiner to devote himself to the spiritual interests of the Bushmen, and, as in the case of the Fuegians, the result might have astonished many a sceptical Darwin.

¹ Quoted by Moffat: “Missionary Labours and Scenes,” p. 61.

² See Appendix for Collins’ Report on the Bushmen (*Note S*).

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE LONDON MISSION TO THE MAKOLOLO AND MATABELE.

Nicht allein der Triumphator,
Nicht allein der sieggekrönte
Günstling jener blinden Göttin;
Auch der blut'ge Sohn des Unglücks,
Auch der heldenmüth'ge Kämpfer,
Der dem ungeheuren Schicksal
Unterlag, wird ewig leben
In der Menschen Angedenken.—HEINE.

The pleasures of each generation evaporate in air; it is their pains that increase the spiritual momentum of the world.—J. R. ILLINGWORTH.

CHAP. AFTER his successful journey across the African continent from west to east, Livingstone reached London in December, 1856, to find himself hailed as the most famous of modern explorers. His achievement kindled the imagination of the British people, and roused unwonted enthusiasm for the missionising of Africa. Attention was directed in an especial manner to the Makololo and their young chieftain Sekeletu, the son of Sebituane, and the London Board adopted the resolution to commence two new missions,—one at Linyanti under Sekeletu's people, and the other among the Matabele in what is now Southern Rhodesia. The former mission was to be under Livingstone's direction, and the latter under Moffat's; but in the end neither of the two designated leaders was able to play the part assigned him. Livingstone severed his official connection with the Society, and in 1858 sailed for Quilimane, at the mouth of the Zambesi, with the intention of marching to Linyanti, and taking back his faithful Makololo carriers to their homes.

The direction of the Linyanti expedition was now entrusted to Holloway Helmore, who had had seventeen years' experience of mission work among the Bechuana, together with Roger Price

and John Mackenzie as associates. Helmore was very anxious to meet Livingstone at Linyanti, and he therefore pushed on his preparations for the long journey into the interior with great energy. It was agreed that he and Price should form the first expedition, while Mackenzie was to follow with fresh provisions a year later. The party left Kuruman in July, 1859, and consisted of Helmore, his wife and four children, Price, his wife and one child, and a number of native servants. All went well until they had passed the territory of the Bamangwato tribe and had entered the Kalahari Desert. Here the expedition suffered the tortures of thirst. On 5 September Mrs. Price wrote in her diary :—

O Africa! Africa! The miseries of yesterday I shall never forget. We started early in the morning and came on well for two hours and a half through the same continuous deep sand, when we outspanned for the heat of the day. No washing, no changing of linen! Water could not be spared for the men to make their porridge. The poor dogs seemed perfectly exhausted with the heat. It was most affecting to see and hear the oxen ; they came to the wagon, and most piteously moaned for water, licking the water-vessels and apparently maddened with thirst. The sight of all such distress, and my own feelings of weakness, were altogether too much for me. "My spirit died within me."

Experiences of this nature were constantly recurring during the whole of the terrible journey, and seven months elapsed before the expedition reached Linyanti. The season was the deadliest of the year, the site of Sekeletu's town one of the unhealthiest that could have been selected. Livingstone had not arrived, and the chief, who at the outset had professed to be friendly, soon became sullen and suspicious. Every effort to persuade him to remove with his people to a loftier and more salubrious locality, or even to permit the missionaries to settle at Sesheke, was unavailing.

The result could have been anticipated. Within a fortnight the whole party, with the exception of Mr. and Mrs. Price and one servant, lay ill of fever. Seventeen days after their arrival the first death—that of one of the Bechuana—took place ; and then in quick succession two of the Helmore children, the infant of the Price's, and finally Mrs. Helmore herself, succumbed. The survivors now held serious consultations as to the advisability of withdrawing from Linyanti. Helmore, however, was opposed to the project, dreading thus both to

CHAP. miss Livingstone and to awaken still greater suspicions in the breasts of the Makololo. After a period of comparative immunity, the missionaries were again assailed by repeated attacks of malaria, and on 21 April, Helmore fell a victim to the implacable disease. "My feelings," wrote Price, "on the morning of the 22nd April, as I followed the remains of my dear brother to the silent tomb, can be better imagined than expressed. All responsibility now fell on me, and I was so reduced that I was hardly able to move, while my poor wife had entirely lost the use of her limbs."

Price now began to make arrangements for leaving the death-stricken camp, and returning to the more healthy desert. He was, however, greatly weakened by disease and his preparations proceeded but slowly. The Makololo meanwhile became intolerably insolent and overbearing. "They crowded the place by day, stealing openly and almost unchallenged, for Mr. Price was often unable to rise from the pallet where he lay. At night they prowled about the wagons, even lifting the sail-covering, and dragging away the wearing apparel of the sleeping missionary. There was no redress to be obtained from chief or from headmen. Sekeletu completely forgot the outward dignity of a chief in his own town and openly derided the missionary when he made complaints."¹

When Price was at length ready to depart, the avaricious chief appeared upon the scene again, and claimed first Helmore's wagon, then the best of the oxen, the guns, ammunition, tents, and even the personal effects of the unfortunate missionary and his prostrate wife. "After a good deal of hard pleading," says Price in his narrative, "I was allowed a few things for the journey, such as a couple of shirts, a vest or two, two or three pairs of trousers, an old coat that I had worn in England, an old pair of shoes that I had on, etc. Already they had taken all my bed-clothing, with the exception of what was just sufficient for one bed, while for the other we had a *kaross*. But before my oxen could cross the Chobe, I must needs deliver up my blanket. Every grain of corn which I had for food for the men they had taken; and for all these things I did not even get a goat for slaughter on the road.

¹ Mackenzie: "Ten Years North of the Orange River," p. 195.

These were my prospects for a journey of upwards of a thousand miles to Kuruman." CHAP.
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It was 26 June before Price left the thieving and treacherous Makololo finally behind him. They had now reached the open plain. In the dry air of the desert the health of the survivors seemed to improve, and hopes were entertained that even the stricken Mrs. Price might in time recover. But it was not to be. On 5 July she breathed her last, and was laid to rest under a tree—the solitary tree upon the immense Mababe Flats. Price was now wholly alone with the two orphaned Helmores. Their troubles were not yet ended. The Bushmen whom they relied upon for guidance led them—it is said upon the instructions of the Makololo—into the heart of the *tsetse* country. The oxen were attacked by the fly, and Price, seeing no chance of saving them, decided to make for the shores of Lake Ngami while they were still able to draw the wagon. At the Lake he was hospitably received by Lechulatebe, the chief of the Batauana tribe, and here he remained until relieved by Mackenzie on 8 September.

Thus disastrously ended the attempt to establish an advanced outpost among the Makololo. The attempt was never renewed. When Livingstone, after exploring the Shiré, at length reached Linyanti, he found Sekeletu in the grip of that fell disease, leprosy. Stormy years followed for the Makololo tribe. In 1863 Sekeletu was strangled by assassins. Civil war ensued. Despairing of peace and security in their own country, sections of the tribe from time to time escaped to the neighbouring tribes of the Batauana and the Matabele. The Makololo were thus irremediably weakened, and in 1865 the tribes which they held in subjection—the Barotsi, Batoka, Bashubia and others—revolted, and turned the tables on their conquerors. The revolt became an extermination, and the Makololo tribe, whose name had once spread terror throughout the whole of Upper Zambesia, ceased to exist. The superstitious natives of Bechuanaland looked upon this sudden and tragic end of a once powerful nation as a Divine retribution, and in after days frequently counselled each other: "Let the missionaries alone; the Makololo injured the missionaries, and where to-day are the Makololo?"

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THE MATABELE MISSION.

The pioneer of the Matabele Mission was William Sykes. Accompanied by Robert Moffat, he journeyed to Moselekatse's chief kraal, with the object of establishing a station somewhere in the vicinity. The chief welcomed his old friend Moffat, but did not appear to be at all anxious that mission work should be undertaken among his subjects. He granted leave to Sykes, however, to settle at Inyati, some thirty miles north of the present town of Bulawayo. Here Moffat left his fellow-missionary to his own resources. Aided by his colleague Thomas, Sykes strove to find an entrance for the Gospel among this utterly heathen race. The soil was hard and unfruitful in the extreme. The old chief, though sufficiently friendly towards the missionaries personally, was contemptuous and antagonistic towards the truths they proclaimed. Those truths were, in fact, the very antithesis of the principles upon which the Matabele kingdom had been built up. Moselekatse's rule was the purest despotism, and despotism found no justification in the Gospel of Christ. His rule had been established, his kingdom extended, by ceaseless wars and raids; but these the spirit of the Gospel condemned. Polygamy, wife-purchase, witchcraft formed an integral portion of the Matabele social order; but the missionary was incessant in his condemnation of such customs. The progress of the Matabele mission, accordingly, was painfully slow. At the lapse of five years the audiences on Sabbath days varied from ten to thirty. Sykes spent the whole of his missionary life at Inyati, and died in 1887 without having tasted the joy of baptising a single convert.¹

Meanwhile Moselekatse had died in 1868, to be succeeded by his son Lobengula. The latter chief permitted the missionaries to establish a second station a few miles from his principal kraal Bulawayo, and to it they gave the name of

¹ "You will ask me what influence the Gospel has had up till now on this savage nation? Alas! apparently none whatever. I confess it is the most perplexing problem of modern missions. [The missionaries] have laboured for twenty years in the country. In spite of all these efforts and sacrifices, there is no school, no church, not a single convert—not one! In fact, I do not know which ought most to astonish the Christian world, the barrenness of this mission field, or the courage and perseverance of these noble servants of Christ, who have for so long ploughed and sown in tears." *F. Coillard* (in 1878).

Hope Fountain. At Hope Fountain laboured first J. B. Thomson, to whom succeeded Charles D. Helm, who has continued there from 1875 to the present day. With the Inyati station are also associated the names of W. A. Elliot and Bowen Rees, while David Carnegie joined the Hope Fountain mission in 1882.

In 1890 the British South Africa Company ("Chartered Company") acquired its rights in Matabeleland and Mashonoland, and the old order of things was profoundly modified, without, however, contributing in any marked degree towards the progress of mission work. The character and the habits of the Matabele remained unchanged. Says Elliot in his report: "We have preached and taught, pleaded and denounced, attended the sick, helped the troubled, prayed, rejoiced, mourned and waited. We struggled on with the daily school; we tried it in the early morning, and at mid-day, till it finally died of starvation. We have had short services for those who came for medicines or to sell. We have had straight, earnest talks with passers-by. I cannot say that the Word of God has ever been more attractive to our people than a feast of beef and beer. At times men have seemed impressed and anxious, but the seed has fallen on the path, or among stones, and has perished."

In 1894 the long-foreseen conflict between the Matabele and the Chartered Company broke out. When the war ended, Bulawayo had been captured and set on fire, Lobengula had fled, to die in exile shortly after, and his old despotism was at an end. The Matabele who still dwelt in the vicinity of the mission stations now began to attend the services in greater numbers. When in 1895 a new church was erected at Inyati the first native collection ever held in Matabeleland realised £11 11s. But though the interest displayed in the work of the missionaries was gradually increasing, converts were still few and far between, and the Matabeleland field has continued to the present day to be an unreceptive and barren soil.

THE MISSION AMONG THE NORTHERN BECHUANA.

A striking contrast to the Matabele work is presented by the missions of Bechuanaland. There the Word of God appeared from the very first to take root readily. Among the

CHAP. tribes where mission enterprise attained its greatest successes
 XXVII. must be counted the Bamangwato. Sekhome, the chief who was ruling over them in 1862, had built his kraal at Shoshong. Here Mackenzie and Price established themselves, working for a time in collaboration with the Hermannsburg missionary Schulenburg. Shortly after this, attention began to centre around the chief's son Khama, who by his courage and generalship succeeded in repulsing an attack by the all-powerful Matabele. Khama embraced Christianity, but his father remained a heathen to the end of his days. The incompatible ideals pursued by the young Christian chief and his heathen father led to many disputes and heart-burnings, and Khama prudently withdrew for a time to Serowe. When hostilities broke out between the two factions Khama finally drove both his father and his brother out of Shoshong, and established his own rule upon a secure foundation.

From the very outset the young chief declared his intention of ruling his people according to Christian principles, and it may be doubted whether any native potentate in South Africa has endeavoured so faithfully to carry out his original intention, or has succeeded so signally. In spite of the opposition of the old heathen element, he was successful in gradually putting down objectionable customs, such as witchcraft, circumcision, wife-purchase (*bogadi*), and slavery ; in stopping the introduction of brandy into his territories ; and in building up a stable kingdom upon the ruins of the old lawless and disordered state. He was likewise successful in preventing, through strong representations and a personal visit to England, the absorption of his territory by the Chartered Company. Khama remains to-day the most eminent example in South Africa of a christianised native chief.

In 1871 Mackenzie was joined by J. D. Hepburn, as colleague in the work among the Bamangwato. Hepburn, who was a man of piety and sincere devotion, undertook in 1877 a journey to Lake Ngami in order to commence a mission among the Batauana of that region, then under the rule of their young chief Moremi, a son of that Lechulatebe who had befriended Price. Both Lechulatebe and his son had been constantly preferring the request for a missionary. Hepburn felt constrained to respond to this Macedonian appeal, and he

therefore set out for the lake with his wife and children, accompanied also by two native teachers. He was well received by Moremi and his people, who seemed eager to receive instruction from the Sacred Book. But Hepburn was attacked by fever, and compelled to return to Shoshong. The Ngami work, nevertheless, lay heavy on his heart, and unable himself to resume his labours among the Batauana, he sent two of his most experienced evangelists.

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Owing to the low state of the finances, the Directors of the Society decided that the Ngami Mission could not be proceeded with. This was a grievous disappointment to Hepburn, who had all along hoped that his return to that promising sphere of work would be sanctioned. The thought then occurred to him of requesting the Bamangwato people to make themselves responsible for the evangelisation of the Batauana, who were originally an offshoot of the former tribe. The response to his appeal was extremely encouraging, and Hepburn was able, in 1881, to take four teachers from Shoshong to commence, as representatives of Bamangwato Christianity, a work among the Batauana.

Then evil days fell upon the Batauana people. They were twice attacked by armies of Matabele warriors, and though they succeeded in beating off the invaders, it was not before their town on the Lake shore (now known as Totin) had been destroyed, and their chief compelled to withdraw to the north. War and drink had greatly demoralised Moremi, and though he had lived as a professed Christian for twelve years, he now cast off all moral restraints and returned to heathenism. When Hepburn paid his last visit to the chief in 1886, the latter openly declared his repudiation of Christianity, and literally drove the missionary out of his country. There now remained no alternative but to abandon the mission, and it was only resumed six years later under the missionaries Wookey and Reid.

In contradistinction to the Batauana the Bamangwato had meanwhile made rapid progress in Christianity and civilisation. In 1885 Khamá's territory was proclaimed a British Protectorate, together with the rest of Bechuanaland. Freed by this act from all fear of attack from the Matabele, Khamá turned his attention to internal affairs, and decided to shift the site of

CHAP. his chief town to Palapye, 100 miles north-east of Shoshong ;
XXVII. from where he again migrated at a later date to Serowe, his present capital.

After twenty years of arduous labours Hepburn died in 1893, and was succeeded by W. C. Willoughby, under whose guidance Khama, together with the neighbouring chiefs Sebele and Bathoen, visited England in 1895, in order to protest against the proposed introduction of the drink traffic into their dominions.

The stations of the London Mission in the sparsely populated Bechuanaland, lie at considerable distances from each other. Travelling southward from Khama's country we shall reach them in the following order. Some 130 miles south of Shoshong lies Molepolole. Here Roger Price commenced work in 1867 among Sechele's people, who had moved away from the site at which we last saw them, Kolobeng. The next sphere of work is among the Bangwaketsi tribe, where a mission was established in 1871 at Kanye. After travelling for more than 200 miles from here we reach Kuruman—the earliest station established among the Bechuana tribes. Here Robert Moffat continued his patient labours after 1850, giving a large portion of his time and energy to his Sechuana translation of the Bible, in which work he was ably assisted by William Ashton. In 1857 the great task which had absorbed thirty years of his life was completed, and the Bechuana finally possessed the whole Word of God in their own tongue. In 1867 this veteran of the Bechuana Mission completed his half-century of active work. Three years later he left Kuruman never to return. The departure from the scene of so much toil and prayer, so much joy and sorrow, was touching in the extreme. "As the old missionary and his wife came out of their door and walked to their wagon they were beset by the crowds, each longing for one more touch of the hand and one more word ; and as the wagon drove away, it was followed by all who could walk, and a long, pitiful wail arose, enough to melt the hardest heart." Mrs. Moffat died in 1871, and Robert Moffat entered into rest in 1883, at the ripe age of 87, leaving behind him one of the most highly honoured names in the annals of African Missions.

After Moffat's death his son, John S. Moffat, continued for

a time to conduct the mission at Kuruman. In 1876 he was succeeded by John Mackenzie, who was also for several years superintendent of the *Moffat Institution* for the training of native evangelists. Owing in great measure to the remote situation of Kuruman, this institution did not succeed in realising the hopes of its founders, and in recent years it has been removed to Tiger Kloof, near Vryburg, where it is now under the direction of W. C. Willoughby. When John Mackenzie in 1885 resigned his connection with the London Mission in order to assume a Government office, he was succeeded by Roger Price.

At Taung, 100 miles east of Kuruman, mission work was commenced by John Brown, who has carried it on uninterruptedly for more than forty years. At Barkly West William Ashton laboured for more than twenty years, passing to his reward in 1897, after fifty-four years of strenuous labour in Bechuanaland. Of him and his work the historian of the London Mission says: "He never filled the public eye like his more famous colleague, Robert Moffat. He is rather the type of the steady, quiet, undemonstrative missionary upon whose shoulders so much of the responsibility of the work rests, and upon whose faithfulness so much of the success achieved depends. He lived in close touch with the Bechuana for more than half a century, he remained in harness until almost the last day of his life, and he now sleeps among the people to whose elevation he had consecrated his life."¹

MISSIONS IN CAPE COLONY.

Before we close this chapter it is necessary to say a few words about the later developments of the work in the Cape Colony. In 1848 W. Elliot, a London missionary who had seen twenty-seven years of active work at various stations, published a letter which contained, among other matter, the following remarks on the diminishing need for missionary institutions within the Cape Colony:—

The rights and liberties of the Hottentots are now recognised and protected by law: he, like any other man, may go where he pleases without a pass, and take his labour or his produce to the best market. He needs no city of refuge. In proportion as the necessity of our mis-

¹ Lovett's "History of the L. M. S.," I, p. 645.

CHAP. sionary institutions has been superseded by the altered state of things, XXVII. the evils incident to them have increased. The authority of the missionary has been diminished ; the population of the missionary institutions has become injuriously dense by a vast influx of late apprentices and other persons of colour, who prefer abundant leisure and unrestrained freedom to those habits of industry and those salutary restraints which must be sustained and submitted to in ordinary social life ; and multitudes of young persons are growing up in habits which render them as incapable of useful and profitable employment, as they are indisposed to it. A vast amount of labour is thus withdrawn from the towns, villages and agricultural districts, without any corresponding advantage being realised by the labourers themselves. The present state of our missionary institutions, then, points to the extreme desirableness, not to say the absolute necessity, of a complete change in their construction and management.¹

Elliot's strictures on the mission stations gave rise to a prolonged and animated controversy. Many supporters of the Society insisted that, in view especially of the straitened condition of the finances, the stations in Cape Colony should be made autonomous and self-supporting. Their views found strong support in the remarks offered by Moffat and Livingstone, who wrote :—

We believe that the Colony has ceased to present the temporal and spiritual destitution which are understood to entitle a country to be treated as a missionary field by our Society. . . . We can attest, from our personal knowledge and observation, that the Colonial and Griqua mission churches are, in point of temporal comfort and educational advantages, decidedly better provided for than the majority of the members of independent churches at home ; and consequently no shyness need be experienced by them in accepting the honour of the entire support of their pastors.²

The result of the controversy was that the principle of granting self-direction to, and expecting self-support from, the colonial mission stations, was generally acknowledged. The Board embodied these views in five resolutions. The *first* expressed its satisfaction at the fact that some mission stations were already self-supporting, and that all recognised their responsibility to become so. The *second* affirmed the desire of the Board to maintain the closest possible relations with the stations that were to become autonomous. The *third* declared the readiness of the Board to transfer its property in chapels, schools, mission-houses, etc., to trustees, for the sole

¹ Lovett's "History," I, p. 573.

² Ibid., I, p. 574.

use and occupation of the congregation. The *fourth* expressed the willingness of the Board to give temporary aid, in so far as their funds permitted, in times of difficulty and financial strain. The *fifth* article conserved the beneficial privileges of existing missionaries, together with their widows and children.

In accordance with the principles thus enunciated the Board gradually withdrew its support from the Colonial stations. But it was not until the passage of the Missionary Institutions Act in the Cape Parliament in 1873 that the final withdrawal of all aid was accomplished. By that Act a gradual transfer of the freehold of the mission lands to the inhabitants was made possible, and the missionaries were relieved from many arduous duties affecting temporal concerns. The final issue of the whole movement towards self-support and autonomy was that in 1883 these congregations were received into the fellowship, and entrusted to the care, of the Congregational Union of South Africa.

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MISSIONS OF THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH.

En aangesien alle oopregte Christenen van wege de liefde, die se schuldig sÿn tot haren naasten saligheyd, en van wegen den jver, om Godts eere onder de menschen te verbreyden, gehouden sÿn alle middelen aan te wenden, die daer toe dienen; en Godt ons in dese Landen een weg geopen heeft tot verscheyden ver afgelegene Landen in de Indië en elders, die van de kennis des waren Godts geheel onthlood sÿn; versoekt de voorseyde Synodus ook ootmoediglyk, dat U Hoog Mog. met een Christelyken jver dese heylige saeke gelieven ter herten te nemen, en met allen ernst daer op toe te leggen, en tot dien eynde soodanige middelen te ordineeren en te besorgen, die alerprofytelykst en bequaamst sÿn tot voortplantinge des H. Evangeliums in die Landen.

MESSAGE OF THE SYNOD OF DORDRECHT TO THE STATES-GENERAL OF THE NETHERLANDS WITH REFERENCE TO MISSION WORK (27 May, 1619).

CHAP. XXVIII. THE Synod of 1857 marks a distinct point in the history of the Dutch Reformed Church and its mission operations. The "Committee for the Missionary Cause," as it was styled (Commissie voor het Zendelings Wezen), brought in a somewhat dolorous report. There were no men, there was no money, they could effect very little—was in brief their plaint. This report was received with signs of obvious dissent, especially on the part of some of the younger members of the Synod. A Committee was appointed to discover some way by which mission work could be placed upon a sounder footing, consisting of the Revs. Albertyn of Caledon, Neethling of Prince Albert, Hofmeyr of Calvinia, and Andrew Murray of Bloemfontein. They recommended that the Church should undertake a forward movement, and commence a new work somewhere in the north, "if possible on the confines of the congregation of Lydenburg". This proposal almost took the breath away of some of the older members of the Synod, and with a curious smile upon his face, Mr. van der Lingen, minister of Paarl, suggested that the four men who had introduced the courageous scheme, should be entrusted with the task of carrying it out.

The need for more men to fill the pastorates of the Church

had just then become very clamant. One-third of the total number of charges stood vacant. The Theological Seminary of the Church was on the point of being opened, but some years must necessarily elapse before the supply of ministers from that institution could be anything like equal to the demand. It was therefore decided to depute Dr. Robertson, then minister of Swellendam, to seek for additional clergymen in Holland and Scotland. At the same time the newly constituted Committee entrusted him with the duty of finding missionaries who would proceed to the heathen, and thus inaugurate the foreign mission enterprise of the Church. Two men volunteered for this work, Henry Gonin, a Swiss, and Alexander McKidd, a Scotsman. They arrived at the Cape in 1861, and with their arrival the foreign mission work may be considered as fairly launched.

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THE TRANSVAAL MISSION.

McKidd proceeded to the Zoutpansbergen in Northern Transvaal, where he laboured with great devotion, until after a brief period death put an end to his toil. He lies buried at the original station, Goedgedacht, at the foot of the lofty range of the Zoutpansbergen. He was succeeded by Stephanus Hofmeyr, a young man belonging to a well-known Cape Town family, who, after a somewhat careless youth, was converted, and at once proclaimed his intention of becoming a missionary. For thirty years he continued unremittingly at his post, preaching the Gospel to the scattered white farmers as well as to the natives. A flourishing mission was established among the Sesuto-speaking natives of North Transvaal, and an equally successful work was inaugurated among the half-caste clan of Buyses—descendants of the notorious outlaw Coenraad Buys (or De Buis), who at the commencement of the nineteenth century caused the Government much trouble and anxiety. Hofmeyr was an ideal missionary, patient, courageous, cheerful, with a deep insight into the meaning of Scripture and an abounding love for his fellow-men, whether black or white. Apart from his eminent success as a missionary, he acquired immense influence over the white population of the Zoutpansberg district in a time when the ministrations of religion were few and far between. Through his faithful labours many were

CHAP. converted, and became warm supporters of his missionary
XXVIII. undertakings. He died in 1905, and his work is now being
continued in his spirit by his son-in-law, J. W. Daneel.

Henri Gonin turned his attention to the Bakhatla tribe, who at the time were occupying the slopes of the Pilaansbergen, in the present district of Rustenburg, Transvaal. After a preliminary period of investigation, he settled down finally at Sauls Poort, at the extreme east of the Pilaansberg range, and some fifty miles north of Rustenburg. The progress of the Gospel was at first but slow, and at the end of three years there were no more than three converts, one of whom had come from the Zoutpansbergen, and had heard the Gospel message from the Boers among whom he lived.

In 1869 an event of considerable importance occurred. The Captain of the Bakhatla, Khamiyane, decided to remove with the major portion of his tribe, and to establish his chief kraal at another place beyond the Marico River. The spot chosen was called Mochudi, the "Place of Refuge". A great number of the Bakhatla, however, remained in the Pilaansbergen and among them Gonin continued his missionising efforts with quiet perseverance. This faithful missionary is now the oldest, in time of service, of all the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church. His long labours have been crowned with a large success. The tribe among whom he settled five-and-forty years ago has now become professedly Christian, and he himself can look back with gratitude and joy at the prolonged toil and happy results of the years spent in the Master's service.¹

When Chief Khamiyane moved off to the north, he was followed by a devoted and courageous young missionary named Brink. The country through which they passed was a *terra incognita*, overgrown with extensive forests and swarming with wild animals of every kind. Brink's labours lasted but a short time, when he too died, and was laid to rest in the little burial-plot not far from Mochudi village, which has since received the mortal remains of many another toiler in the Vineyard. His successor was Missionary Beyer, during whose term of service Khamiyane's son Linchwe, who had succeeded to the chieftainship, professed Christianity, and was baptised. After Beyer's departure the work was continued by William Neethling,

¹ Mr. Gonin died in the commencement of 1911.

whose tragic death by the falling of the church's gable during a heavy storm, is still fresh in the memory of many. To Neethling succeeded Pieter Stofberg, a man of character, great ability and true piety, whose wife died at Mochudi, a victim to the prevailing malaria, while Stofberg himself succumbed to an insidious disease in 1907, when his influence was at its highest, and his friends anticipated for him many years of fruitful labours in the mission field. The work at Mochudi is now under the control of J. C. Knobel and D. J. Joubert.

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Other mission fields in the Transvaal are Mabieskraal and the Waterberg. In the first of these J. P. Roux has done cautious and faithful work during the last quarter of a century, and in the latter, J. N. Murray and J. J. Fourie exercise supervision over an extensive and important work among a number of scattered tribes and tribelets. On the whole the mission enterprises in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland, though handicapped by many serious difficulties through the proximity of the gold-fields and a corrupting civilisation, have yielded fruits which have gladdened the heart and strengthened the faith of the Church which undertook them and the missionaries who carried them out.

THE MISSION TO MASHONALAND.

The commencement of mission work in Mashonaland is due to that eminent missionary and hero of faith, Stephanus Hofmeyr, of the Zoutpansbergen. His eyes were turned continually northward towards the heathen tribes beyond the Limpopo River, and he eagerly desired to carry the Gospel to them. He made strong representations to the Mission Committee as to the claims of the Banyai—so the Mashonaland natives were slightlyingly called by their Matabele oppressors, the term signifying “dogs”. But no missionary could be found to proceed to those remote regions, and Hofmeyr had to content himself with earnest intercession on their behalf, to which work he encouraged the Christians on his station also. For more than twenty years he engaged in this ministry of intercession before the way was actually opened for missionaries to settle among the Banyai.

Hofmeyr's first hope was centred in the late Dr. Dalzell of the Gordon Memorial Mission, who arrived at the Zoutpansberg

CHAP. in the search for a sphere of work where no other agency was
XXVIII. yet in occupation. Hofmeyr urged him strongly to proceed to Mashonaland, but circumstances arose which made this impossible. In 1875 a serious attempt to reach the Banyai was made by the Paris Evangelical Mission, who were desirous of opening up a new field. Rev. Mr. Dieterlen accordingly set out with a party of native helpers, the country beyond the Limpopo being his objective. At Pretoria, however, he was detained by President Burgers, and prohibited from proceeding farther. This was a grievous disappointment to the Society, but, undeterred by the failure of the earlier attempt, Rev. François Coillard, one of the most devoted of South African missionaries, was deputed to endeavour a second time to reach the heathen populations in the then distant north. Coillard commenced his journey in 1877. At the Zoutpansbergen he was heartily welcomed by Hofmeyr, who rejoiced to think that his prayers on behalf of the Banyai were now about to be answered. He called his people together, explained the object of Coillard's expedition, commended it in fervent prayer to God, and at the close of the service asked for volunteers from among his converts to accompany Coillard on his perilous undertaking. Two of his best evangelists came forward, and Hofmeyr turned to his fellow-missionary and said : "Brother, they are the best I have, but I give them freely and heartily for the work among the Banyai". But Coillard's attempt to evangelise the Banyai, as will be related in another chapter, was rendered nugatory by the strenuous opposition of the Matabele chieftain Lobengula.

For many years after this no endeavour was made by white missionaries to enter Mashonaland. Hofmeyr's interest in the degraded Banyai however continued unabated, and he sent out some of his evangelists from time to time to sojourn among them for a period and then to return, before the suspicion and opposition of the Matabele chief had time to gather force. Another attempt was subsequently made to obtain the permission of Lobengula for the establishment of a mission in Mashonaland, and Mr. Carnegie of the London Mission undertook to plead the cause of the Banyai, which he did with great earnestness. But the chief was immovable. "The Banyai," he said, "are my dogs: what do they want with an *mfundisi* (teacher)?"

With this answer the disheartened evangelists were obliged to return to the Zoutpansbergen.

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Not many months elapsed, however, before Mr. Rhodes acquired the right of entry into the dominions of Lobengula, and the Pioneer Force made its historical march through the heart of Mashonaland. This was conceived to be a favourable opportunity for renewing the hitherto frustrated missionary enterprise, and the Rev. S. P. Helm, who had been acting as coadjutor to Mr. Hofmeyr, set out on a tour of inspection. Accompanied by some native evangelists he proceeded as far as the Limpopo by wagon, and thence by pack-animal. In course of time they reached the vicinity of the Zimbabwe Ruins, and found the natives friendly and apparently sincerely desirous for a white missionary. The expedition returned to the Zoutpansbergen to report favourably on the prospects of a mission among the despised Banyai.

In the course of the same year (1889) Helm was deputed to attend a meeting of Synod at Cape Town and to urge the claims of the Banyai mission. To such good purpose did he acquit himself of his task, that he was able to return in the following year with the consent of the Committee to occupy the new field, and with a young helper to assist him in the enterprise. This was A. A. Louw, who for a time had studied in the Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch, but who had been compelled by weak health to relinquish his studies. The real "trek" to Mashonaland was undertaken in 1891. Of this expedition Louw himself was the leader, with a layman, Eksteen, as his assistant, and a large number of native evangelists. Nine ox-wagons were necessary to convey the whole party with all the necessaries of life for a year. In two months' time they reached the Zimbabwe Ruins, and three miles from these the first station, Morgenster (Morning Star), was established. Between Morgenster and the Limpopo the expedition had erected six out-stations, at each of which an evangelist and his family had been stationed, so that a series of stepping-stones connected the new mission with the older one at the Zoutpansbergen.

Both Helm and Eksteen were soon compelled to return to the south, and amid many difficulties and discouragements Louw prosecuted the work alone, until he was joined by Dr.

CHAP. J. T. Helm, a brother of the elder Helm. After the lapse of
 XXVIII. some years the number of the mission staff was augmented by the arrival of several other workers—Malan, Fouché, Hofmeyr, Hugo, Jackson, as well as by the addition of lady workers—Misses van Coller, Meyburgh, Slabbert, Fölscher and others. This accession to their ranks enabled them to establish new stations at Harawe, some thirty miles to the east of Morgenster, and at Pamoshana, about sixty miles to the north-east. The years 1903 and 1904 were years of much trial for the mission workers. No less than fifteen of the staff either died of fever or were forced by failing health to leave the field, and it appeared as if there could be no thought of further extension. But though there was little opportunity to extend, the work gradually grew in intensive power, and in the hold which the missionaries were obtaining over the native mind and heart.

A remarkable extension of the field came to the Home Committee unsought in the year 1907, when the Berlin Missionary Society, which had been at work in Mashonaland almost as long as the Dutch Reformed Church, offered its sphere of work with three stations to the latter Church. This was viewed by the Committee as a call of God to enlarge the place of their dwelling. The amount of £1750 for the properties the Berlin Society proposed to make over to the Dutch Reformed Church, was readily voted, and an urgent appeal was made for workers. The response was very encouraging, and the losses by death and departure of the years 1903-4 were soon made abundantly good. At the end of 1909 it appeared that there were twenty-one labourers in the Mashonaland field, including women workers and missionaries' wives, and that nine stations and a large number of out-stations were being effectively occupied. The work in Mashonaland has now entered upon a very encouraging stage. The report to the Synod of 1909 showed that there were 281 baptised Christians, 129 members of baptism classes, and 1750 children in the schools.¹

MISSIONS WITHIN THE CAPE COLONY.

The Synod of 1857, which marked, as we have seen, the advance into the distinctively foreign field, imparted likewise a

¹ For another branch of the Foreign Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church, see Note T.

fresh impetus to mission work within the confines of the Colony. The paucity of workers, which so hampered the Church's operations both at home and in the mission field, made itself felt in this sphere also. The Mission Committee was able to find very few young men of South African birth to give themselves to the evangelisation and instruction of the coloured and native races of the Cape, and was obliged to obtain from Holland a number of catechists (or *godsdiest-onderwijzers*, as they were called). Many of these were men of great devotion, who have left a permanent impression upon the history of the Mission Church of the Cape.

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The decade 1850 to 1860 saw a considerable extension of the Inland Mission, by which name the work within the Cape Colony is known. The Mission Committee discovered that in many congregations individual Christians had banded themselves together to secure moral and spiritual instruction for the coloured people in their towns and upon their farms. In many cases the *Kerkeraad* (Church Consistory) was engaging in missionary operations. All such undertakings received the moral and financial support of the Committee. In 1860 six Consistories were in the receipt of annual grants from the central mission fund.

In addition to this, the Committee had undertaken the direction and support, upon its own responsibility solely, of mission work at George, Ceres, Middelburg and Beaufort West. The work at George was in the competent hands of Johann Kretzen. For six-and-forty years this humble and tireless man of God continued his ministry in connection with Dutch Reformed missions, retiring from active service in 1895, and entering into rest on 13 February, 1897. Another faithful worker whose labours were richly owned of God was John Bennie, whose name has been already mentioned in this history in connection with the Scotch missions. In 1853 Bennie was compelled to relinquish his work among the Kafirs owing to the indifferent state of his wife's health, and to seek a drier climate. He settled at Middelburg (Cape) where he was entrusted with the care of the Dutch Reformed mission congregation. Here he laboured with great success for more than fourteen years, leaving at his death a flourishing congregation composed of various Kafir elements and a proportion of

CHAP. XXVIII. coloured people. He died in 1869 at the age of 73. Other missionaries of the Inland Mission, whose names deserve honourable mention for long and faithful service, are : D. J. H. Ruytenbeek, P. Smeer, A. G. le Roux, P. Teske and J. C. Pauw.

Two events of later years contributed largely towards the extension and consolidation of the Dutch Reformed Inland Mission. The first was the establishment of a Training School for Missionaries. The idea originated with Rev. Dr. Andrew Murray of Wellington, and was realised in 1877, when the Training School was commenced at Wellington under the direction of the Rev. George Ferguson (of America). By the erection of this institution, the difficulty of finding suitable men for mission work both within and without the Cape Colony, was successfully overcome. The school was originally a private enterprise, and considerable sums of money were spent upon it by Dr. Murray from his private purse ; but in 1903 it was taken over by the Synod, and has thus become an officially recognised institution. Instruction is imparted in the usual theological subjects, and in mission theory and praxis, by the Revs. G. F. Marais, B.A., C. T. Wood, M.A., and J. C. Pauw.

The second event which assisted in awakening the Inland Mission to greater vigour was the granting of autonomy to the congregations of that mission. This was done by the Synod of 1880. The right was thus conferred upon the mission congregations of combining to form their own Synod and to direct their own affairs, subject, however, to certain (not very rigid) restrictions. The first Synod of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church assembled at Wellington in 1881, when D. J. H. Ruytenbeek was elected Moderator (or Chairman, as he was styled). The necessity for partial self-support and complete self-control, which was thus cast upon the congregations of the Inland Mission, has on the whole worked most beneficially. The Mission Church has exhibited a steady growth and expansion which are exceedingly encouraging. Nearly thirty years have passed, and forty mission congregations have now joined the Synod, which consists of four presbyteries. Some twenty-five congregations remain, which are not yet sufficiently advanced to receive autonomy, and these are still under the

direction of the Mission Committee, or of local (white) Consistories. The Inland Mission of Cape Colony, comprising the above-mentioned sixty-five congregations, now counts 57,000 members, of which 17,000 are communicants. The Dutch Reformed Churches in the Orange Free State, Transvaal and Natal have, in addition, flourishing mission churches of their own, of which a detailed account cannot here be given.

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Before we close this chapter brief reference must be made to a serious attempt to plant the Gospel among the Koranna Hottentots on the Orange River. The colonists living in the northern districts of the Cape Colony had always been exposed to attacks by marauding bands of Korannas, and had suffered considerable losses of stock at their hands. Several of these farmers were men of piety, and at the suggestion of one of their number named Kuhn, an elder of the Church, they decided to subscribe the salary of a missionary who should labour among the benighted Korannas. The amount was soon found, and they approached the Mission Committee with the generous offer to guarantee, for the period of six years, the support of a missionary in Korannaland. The Committee secured the services of Christian Schröder, who settled on the north bank of the Orange River at a place called Olijvenhoutsdrift (now Upington). Here he continued for many years to engage in self-denying labours on behalf of the degraded Korannas. In spite of little apparent result Schröder toiled on. He built a church, a manse and a school ; he cast a weir across the river and by means of a long furrow conveyed water on to the fertile soil, thus making the barren Kalahari Desert blossom like the rose. The Korannas, however, still refused to accept the Gospel ; they persisted in their depredations upon the inhabitants of the northern colonial border, until the patience of the Government became exhausted ; a commando was organised, and the Korannas were defeated and driven into the desert. A number of bastard Hottentot families were then invited to settle along the Orange River, and they formed the nucleus of the now flourishing coloured communities at Upington and Keimoes. Among them the work which Schröder commenced is still being successfully carried on.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE LATER HISTORY OF WESLEYAN MISSIONS.

We are the choice of the Will: God, when He gave the word
That called us into line, set in our hand a sword;

Set us a sword to wield none else could lift and draw,
And bade us forth to the sound of the trumpet of the Law.

East and west and north, wherever the battle grew,
As men to a feast we fared, the work of the Will to do.

WILLIAM ERNEST HENLEY.

CHAP. IT is a task of peculiar difficulty to trace the history and estimate the progress of Wesleyan Missions, since in the reports rendered no distinction is drawn between work on behalf of natives and work on behalf of Europeans. In the division of circuits and the allocation of spheres of work the mission station and the European congregation, the missionary and the colonial pastor, stand upon an equal footing. In consequence, the historian experiences considerable difficulty in disentangling the threads of history, and distinguishing clearly between the European pastorate and the purely missionary enterprise.

The wisdom of the policy of thus making the missionary and the pastor interchangeable terms is open to question. On the one hand, it may be argued that by the identification of the native with the European work, the interest of the Colonial Church in missionary undertakings is aroused and stimulated; the status of the missionary is maintained at the same level as the pastor's; and the danger of isolation and estrangement is avoided. On the other hand, full weight should be allowed to considerations such as these: the tasks and problems to which the missionary and the pastor respectively address themselves, are vastly different, and require for their performance and solution different temperaments, different capabilities, and a different mental and moral equipment. The natural gifts which fit

a man to be a practical and successful missionary, may be wasted in a man whose cure of souls lies in the heart of a large city ; and the eloquence which attracts great crowds may be as little suited to the environment of a quiet mission station. Frequent changes from the town pastorate to the native charge, cannot make for fluency in the use of the vernacular tongue or efficiency in the solution of missionary questions.

The first few years of the second half of the nineteenth century were years of retrogression as regards the Wesleyan native missions. The Kafir War of 1851, though not so destructive to mission property as previous wars, administered a far severer set-back to mission progress than any that had preceded. At the close of the war the native tribes were left in a sullen, discontented, antagonistic state of mind. The missionaries were distinctly and emphatically out of favour with the reigning chiefs. The people took the cue from their leaders, and remained indifferent, if not hostile, to Christian instruction. The Kafrarian stations—Morley, Shawbury, Butterworth and Clarkebury—were in a state of decay. No reinforcements were being sent out from England, and the missionaries were too few in number and too widely scattered to make their influence forcibly felt.

At this stage a tragic event occurred which tended to depress still further the spirits of the faithful band of workers. A missionary named J. S. Thomas, who had been settled at Clarkebury, decided to establish a new station some thirty miles from the old site. Here he had been but a few days when the Pondos attacked the natives of the place. It was night and Thomas had retired to rest. He was awakened by the noise of shouting and fighting, and hastily casting a blanket about himself, he made his way to the scene of disturbance, and called aloud in Kafir : "What's the matter?" Clad as he was, he was probably mistaken for a native, for the Pondos shouted : "Stab, stab, stab!" "Let us return," said Thomas to his attendant, "or they will do us a mischief." Scarcely had he spoken when a number of assegais were flung at him, striking him in the back, neck and thigh. He was carried to his house, and expired shortly after, without having spoken a single word.

The fortunes of the Kafrarian mission were now at their

CHAP. lowest ebb. As the missionaries looked at their slender XXIX. ranks, now still further reduced, a feeling akin to despair overtook them. Would it not be best to evacuate Kafraria, and concentrate their forces at some other point that promised better success in the weary struggle against a heathenism so strongly entrenched? Such were the doubts which troubled the band of dispirited missionaries at the very time when, in the providence of God, a blow was about to be struck at heathenism in Kafraria, under which it would reel and totter.

The death of Thomas occurred in 1856. The same year witnessed the commencement of that most strange and tragic movement among the Kafrarian tribes, known as the "Cattle-killing delusion". Umhlakaza, a councillor of Kreli, the paramount chief of the Xosa tribe, professed to have seen visions and heard voices that prophesied the destruction of the English, and a period of marvellous prosperity for the Kafir nation. This period, however, could only be inaugurated by a stupendous act of sacrifice—the native tribes throughout the country must kill all their cattle, and destroy every grain of wheat; and then on a day—subsequently designated as Wednesday, 18 February, 1857—a mighty hurricane would sweep the hated white man into the sea.

These instructions were looked upon by the natives as an authentic message from the spirits of their deceased ancestors. Kreli issued the mad directions that Umhlakaza's words were to be obeyed to the letter. Soon most chiefs commenced to slaughter their herds. The Christian Chief Kama alone refused to obey the instructions, and exerted all his influence to stop the spread of the delusion. In spite of his efforts, however, and those of the native Commissioner, the killing mania infected an ever-widening circle. The spirits were insatiable in their lust for blood. "Not a goat, ox or cow out of all their herds must be left living, every grain of corn in their granaries must be destroyed, no garden must be planted, nothing but horses and weapons of war must be preserved. But what a future of glory and wealth was predicted for the faithful and obedient! On the great day countless herds of cattle, not subject to disease and more beautiful than any they were called upon to kill, should issue from the earth and cover the pastures far and wide. Great fields of millet, ripe and ready for eating,

should in an instant spring into existence. The ancient heroes of the race, the great and the wise of years gone by, restored to life on that happy day, would appear and take part in the joys of the faithful."¹

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At length the fateful day dawned. Cattle-kraals had been enlarged for the expected herds. Enormous skin sacks were prepared for the milk which should soon be so abundant. Huts were re-thatched and strengthened to meet the coming hurricane. A nation sat clothed in gala dress, waiting for the great resurrection. Dawn came, but with it no blood-red sun. Morning wore to noon, but the sky did not fall to crush their enemies. Noon wore to eve, and not a breath of wind stirred the silent air. At length the natives awoke to the full horror of their position. They had been deceived. Unhlakaza's words were lies. Kreli's commands were their death-warrant. With no food, with no prospective harvest, with hunger already gnawing at their vitals, they were a doomed nation.

The events of the next few weeks baffle description. Many lost their reason, and became raving maniacs. Whole families sat down in their huts, or in the shade of a spreading tree, and perished together. Thousands made their way to the Colony, where they were fed by a paternal Government, and by compassionate white colonists. Even among these last, terrible scenes were frequently witnessed—men, women and children fighting like wild animals for a morsel of food, fathers snatching away the bread of their children, mothers neglecting their infants in order to fill their own mouths. Nor were these the worst horrors. Human bones, charred in the fire or lying in some huge cooking-pot, suggested to what straits the most desperate were reduced.

In all 200,000 cattle were slain during this terrible delusion; and as to the number of natives who perished, the lowest estimate places it at 25,000, while some authorities judge it to have been double that number. The power of the Xosa nation and their Tembu allies was destroyed. The tribes that survived were dispersed in various directions, and many years elapsed before they again acquired a measure of wealth and influence. The Christian Chief Kama, who had opposed the cattle-killing, had the satisfaction of seeing his tribe—the Gunukwebe—

¹ Theal's "History," Vol. III, p. 193.

CHAP. gradually increase, until from the smallest it became the largest
XXIX. in British Kafraria.

Under the fostering influence of that excellent Governor and good Christian, Sir George Grey, the Kafrarian missions soon began to make more rapid progress. Ruined stations were rebuilt. Schools received substantial grants in aid. New institutions were founded, the most important being Healdtown, near the village of Fort Beaufort, for which the Governor donated £3000 from the imperial treasury. Here schools and workshops were erected, and instruction given in various trades, as well as in the subjects of the ordinary school curriculum. At Mount Coke a printing-press was established, which produced various Kafir books of considerable importance, notably the Kafir hymn-book and the Appleyard version of the Kafir Bible. This latter work, which had cost Rev. J. W. Appleyard many years of unremitting toil, was completed and published in 1859, and though as a translation it is faulty, and has been largely superseded by Kropf's version (1887), it nevertheless continues to hold its own in certain circles, and is now issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society, alongside of the later version.

In the gracious providence of God a great revival visited the native missions in 1866. The Rev. William Taylor, formerly a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, had laboured with a large measure of success in California,¹ when he felt himself called to relinquish that work for itinerant evangelism. He laboured with great blessing in Canada and Australia, and then commenced a mission in South Africa. His campaign opened in Cape Town, where no very large results followed his efforts. In the Eastern Province a time of much blessing was experienced, and at Grahamstown and King William's Town many conversions took place. Taylor now began to direct his attention to the mission stations, and in particular to those of the Wesleyans. In Charles Pamla, a native then in training for the ministry, he found an ideal interpreter. At the first station visited Taylor preached for an hour and a quarter amid profound silence. When at his second meeting he invited penitents to come forward, 200 accepted the invitation, and of these seventy professed to find peace. From

¹ Taylor: "Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco".

station to station the revival spread. Everywhere great crowds assembled, numbers were profoundly affected and brought in tears to the foot of the Cross, and day after day there were added to the Church those that were being saved. It was a noticeable feature of this movement that very few raw heathen were converted : the work of grace was confined almost exclusively to those who for a number of years past had been receiving Christian instruction. As the outcome of this evangelistic effort, which extended from Cape Town in the west to Durban in the east, it was calculated that some 6000 natives had been brought to a saving knowledge of the truth—a truly marvellous result.

The question will doubtless suggest itself whether these results were of a permanent nature, and whether no converts subsequently fell away. A certain amount of leakage there would naturally have been. But we are also assured that by far the greater proportion of converts remained steadfast, and contributed towards the extension and consolidation of the mission congregations throughout Kafraria. The missionaries were inspired with new devotion and new energy. The native Church was purified and uplifted. New ideals of Christian duty and a new standard of Christian living were introduced. From being feeble and despondent, Christianity in Kafraria became aggressive and triumphant.

Upon the excitement of the revival year (1866) there followed a period of steady growth. The natives became more and more eager for secular instruction, and the missionaries were not slow in attempting to meet the demand. In every direction new schools sprang up, which were soon crowded with eager scholars. Native parents were increasingly anxious that their children should learn to speak, read and write the English language. It is possible that the missionaries were too ready to meet the wishes of the natives in this matter. For to introduce the teaching of English at too early a stage in the curriculum for native schools has now been discovered to be a wrong and injurious principle. It is now acknowledged on every hand that the earliest instruction should be imparted through the medium of the vernacular, and that natives should not be filled with book-knowledge merely, but should be trained as largely as possible in arts and handicrafts.

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A few words are necessary to relate the subsequent history of the mission to the Barolong and Mantatee tribes. The stations at Imparani, Moting, Inkhatla and Korannaberg were subject to many vicissitudes—of retrenchment, of war, and finally of the dispersion of their inhabitants. The work at these centres had therefore to be given up, and the Society concentrated its activities at Thaba Nchu. Here a large church with accommodation for 800 people was erected, schools established and a printing-press set up. A succession of able missionaries served the Society at this important station, the most notable of whom was D. M. Ludorf. In 1865, after the Society had been in occupation for forty years, the Anglican Church intruded into this field, and has ever since maintained itself side by side with the older agency.

When the old chief Moroka died in 1882, two of his sons, the one a Wesleyan, the other an Anglican, disputed the succession. The Government of the Free State was forced to intervene in the dispute, and as the result of this intervention the Barolong territory was absorbed into the Free State, a portion being set aside as a permanent native reserve. The complexion of the work was completely altered, and the population greatly decreased. The work of the mission, however, continued to be carried on with vigour and success.

In Natal the Wesleyan Church established itself among the Europeans as early as 1842, but it was not till 1847 that an independent mission was commenced among natives. The pioneer of this mission was W. C. Holden, the writer of several works on South Africa which have had a considerable vogue. Within a few miles of Durban, Holden found thousands of Zulu natives almost wholly uncared for. Other missions were indeed already at work, but they were only able to touch the fringe of a vast mass of heathenism. Holden gathered little knots of natives, and preached to them. One of his earliest and most notable converts was Abantwana, uncle of the well-known chief Chaka.

In the same year (1847) James Allison arrived in Natal from Swaziland, and a flourishing native mission was begun at a centre subsequently known as Edendale. The "Indian Mission" of the Wesleyan Society was commenced by Ralph Scott, who had spent eighteen years among the Veddahs of

Ceylon, and had complete command of the Tamil and Hindustani languages. Another of the Natal band whose name deserves a brief mention is Horatio Pearse, who was stationed at Maritzburg for eleven years. Pearse's health broke down, and when about to proceed to England on leave of absence, he was overtaken by a cart accident, in which he sustained such serious injuries that he succumbed after a fortnight's suffering.¹

The Natal missions were also visited in 1866 by William Taylor, the evangelist. Similar scenes to those seen in Kafraria were witnessed here. But Taylor preached only a few sermons to native congregations, assigning to Charles Pamla the duty of visiting the other missionary centres. Pamla journeyed to Maritzburg, Edendale, Verulam, Durban and other places, and at each of these large crowds assembled, and the results were extremely striking. At Edendale it seemed, indeed, as if the whole community were about to be converted. The membership of the Wesleyan Church rose from 1064 to 1551 as the result of this special effort,—an increase of almost 50 per cent. It may be seriously questioned, however, whether revival preaching in native communities is not attended by perils of its own. The danger which accompanies all forms of revival services, that of touching the emotions, without rousing the conscience or permanently influencing the will, is present in the case of native missions in an accentuated form. The natives are emotional to a far greater degree than any European nation, and appeals addressed to them awaken in general a ready response, while agonising remorse for past sins, and a deep-seated determination to forsake unrighteousness and follow after holiness, may be entirely absent.

In spite of all drawbacks, however, it cannot be doubted that this revival, as well as others of later years, was the means of infinitely strengthening and extending the influence of the Methodist missions in Natal. Native Christians were fired with a new zeal for the conversion of their fellow-tribesmen, and a remarkable movement, known as *Unzondelelo*,² may be distinctly traced to the revival of 1866. A number of native

¹ T. Smith: "The Earnest Missionary; Memoir of the Rev. Horatio Pearse". London, 1870.

² *Unzondelelo*=zeal, desire. Cf. St. Paul's "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is that they might be saved" (Rom. x. 1).

CHAP. Christians banded themselves together to carry the Gospel to
XXIX. the heathen kraals and reserves which abound in Natal. For some time the movement was viewed with suspicion by the European missionaries, as savouring too much of what was subsequently known as Ethiopianism—the endeavour to establish a native Church independent of European control. As the aims of Unzondelelo became better understood, however, this suspicion was allayed, and at the Synod of 1878 the new undertaking was duly regulated and organised as the "Wesleyan Native Home Mission". The movement must be viewed sympathetically, as a vigorous attempt on the part of native Christians to make the native Church not merely self-directing and self-supporting, but also self-propagating.

CHAPTER XXX.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS OF THE AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONS.

Knowing this, that never yet
Share of Truth was vainly set
In the world's wide fallow;
After hands shall sow the seed,
After hands from hill and mead
Reap the harvests yellow.

Thus, with somewhat of the Seer,
Must the moral pioneer
From the future borrow;
Clothe the waste with dreams of grain,
And, on midnight's sky of rain,
Paint the golden morrow.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

I. PROGRESS OF THE NATAL MISSION.

FROM 1850 to 1870 the mission in Natal passed through a period of steady but not rapid growth, counting in the latter year some 500 baptised native converts. The next twenty years were also a time of gradual development; the number of converts more than doubled itself and the native congregations established increased from eleven to sixteen. The most rapid growth was that witnessed during the next decade and a half (1890-1905), at the end of which period there were twenty-one native congregations with some 4500 Church members. It is also most encouraging to note that after 1894 the Board in America was not called upon for any grant towards the support of native congregations or native preachers in this field.

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The principle of self-support and self-propagation was introduced at an early stage. In 1860 the Native Home Missionary Society was organised, and five years later it was able to support three native missionaries at a salary of £35 per

CHAP. annum each. The work of this Society was re-organised and XXX. greatly extended in 1885, when three separate bodies united to elect a committee of six (*the Abaisitupa*), into whose hands were entrusted the affairs of the Home Missionary Movement. The influence of this movement has been felt in more than one direction : it has encouraged young native Christians to enter the native ministry, and for that purpose to pass through a theological course at Amanzimtote ; and it has fostered the idea of self-support, so that, as we have already remarked, the native congregations received after 1894 no further financial support from the Board at Boston. Before 1880 seven natives had already received ordination, among the first being James Dube, Benjamin Hawes and Ira Nembula.

A native ministry having been gradually placed in charge of the native congregations, the great majority of the present staff of missionaries is engaged in educational work. At Amanzimtote (otherwise known as Adams) are established a Theological School and a Boys' Seminary. The former, having as its object the training of native ministers, has already produced good results, but of late seems to have suffered somewhat through too frequent changes in the teaching staff, and a too low standard of admission. The Boys' Seminary, established in 1853, professes to be a secondary school for native youths, and to impart a more advanced education than is given at the ordinary station schools. Industrial training is a feature in this school, and the average number of pupils is about eighty. The School for Girls at Inanda mission station, with an average attendance of 150, and the Home for Native Girls at Umzumbe, with an average attendance of 130, have proved to be centres of widespread, wholesome influence. The Natal Government has recognised and approved of the system of education established by the missionaries, and grants-in-aid, amounting in 1902 to more than £7000 annually, are voted towards its support.

As is to be expected, there have also been points of divergence between the Government and the missionaries. One of the questions which gave rise to difference of opinion was connected with the control of the Mission Reserves. The history of the Reserves is in brief the following. At the commencement of missionary undertakings in Natal, the missionaries felt

the need of increasing their direct influence over the natives, and therefore petitioned that grants should be made of considerable tracts of land in the immediate vicinity of mission stations, upon which natives might be invited to settle. To this petition the Government acceded in 1856, and so arose the Mission Reserves, totalling in the aggregate some 90,000 acres, and held by the missionaries in trust for the natives who settled upon them. As time went on, the administration of these Reserves—the allocation of plots, the collection of rents, the maintenance of order, etc.—became a burden too heavy for the shoulders of the missionaries; and they were considerably relieved when eventually Government turned its attention to the matter, and proposed to assume control of these Reserves itself. Legislation was, however, subsequently enacted fixing what the missionaries considered an exorbitant rental for residence on a Reserve, and the attitude of the Government awakened much heart-burning, both among the natives and the missionaries.

The policy which the Government on the one hand, and the missionaries on the other, pursue towards the natives, is dictated by opposing attitudes of mind. The missionaries look upon the natives as worthy of all confidence, and fit to be entrusted with the control of their own affairs, both temporal and spiritual. The Government is not so sure of the loyalty of the natives, and greatly doubts whether they should be permitted to direct their own concerns; and the recent rebellion of Bambata has tended to show that its fears were not wholly unfounded.

The so-called "Ethiopian movement" also aroused the suspicions of the Natal Government, and gave rise to repressive measures that operated harshly upon existing missions. No marriages celebrated by native ministers, even though thoroughly qualified and duly ordained men, were recognised as legal; and the residence of native ministers on location lands was prohibited, unless they were under the immediate control of a white missionary superintendent. These two injunctions have met with much criticism and opposition from the side of the missionaries. The latter prohibition, in particular, makes it impossible to carry on and extend mission work by the indispensable aid of a native ministry. If insisted upon

CHAP. it will, in all parts of the mission field, seriously hamper missionary operations, seriously increase missionary expenses, and prevent the attainment of one of the chief objects of missionary policy—the establishment of a self-directing and self-extending native Church.

The American Zulu Mission, though not large as regards the number of its staff of workers, or the extent of territory occupied, is without a rival in the influence it wields through its publications in the Zulu language. The translation of the Bible into Zulu, which was made wholly by various members of the Mission, and finally completed, under the editorship of S. C. Pixley, in 1883, has proved of inestimable benefit to all Christian missions in Natal. The Mission was the first body in Natal to own a printing-press, and the first to issue literature in the vernacular. For more than seventy years the literature department has been one of its chief features, and even to-day very little is being done by missions other than the American to supply Zulu literature to the increasing number of natives who are able to read the language.

Perhaps no other Mission has suffered as greatly as the American from the intrusion of other societies into its field. One of the missionaries, writing in 1903, describes the situation thus :—

Here, between the Tugela and Umvoti Rivers, a field twenty miles wide and fifty miles long, six mission societies have come in, and between our Umvoti station and Mapumulo, a distance of twenty-five miles, where our own out-station work joins hands, we find the Wesleyans, Salvation Army, Christian Alliance and Church of Norway, while these and other societies crowd us on all sides. . . . Thus the Colony from the Tugela to the Umtavuma Rivers, and from the coast to a line running through Maritzburg parallel with the coast, where all our mission stations are located, is filled and even crowded with mission stations of other societies ; and new societies are still coming in, one even asking for one of our out-stations, where we had a school building and regular work, to start a home station. The Church of England regards no other societies, but divides all Natal into districts, with a priest over each division.¹

II. HISTORY OF THE RHODESIAN MISSION.

The Rhodesian Mission of the American Board is the direct successor of the abortive mission to the Matabele at Mosega, which has been fully described in a previous chapter. The idea

¹ "South African Deputation Papers," p. 87.

of carrying on a mission among the inland tribes parallel to the Natal mission among the coast tribes, was never wholly relinquished. Many years, however, were to elapse before even an attempt was made to evangelise the millions of the comparatively inaccessible hinterland. In 1879, when the interior of South Africa had already been thoroughly explored, and relations had been established between the South African Governments and the still independent native potentates, the Board at Boston resolved to inaugurate two new enterprises, the one, a mission on the west coast of Africa at Bihé, and the other, on the east side, in the kingdom of Umzila. The former lies without the scope of this history, but of the latter some details must now be given. The tribe which it was proposed to evangelise was the Shangaan (Ama-tshangana), under the above-named chief Umzila, occupying a portion of territory now generally known as Gazaland, and lying on the border-land between Southern Rhodesia and Portuguese territory. The pioneer of the mission was M. W. Pinkerton, who had already had nine years' experience in the Natal mission. Pinkerton was sent to view the proposed field, and report upon the possibility of occupying it speedily. He set out in 1880, accompanied by an American colleague and a native assistant, but before even reaching Umzila's kraal, he succumbed to an attack of malarial fever.

In the following year another missionary, E. H. Richards, succeeded in reaching Umzila's, and secured permission for the American Board to enter the field whenever they desired. Six years elapsed before the missionaries attempted to avail themselves of this permission. They had turned their energies in the meantime to the coast tribes around Inhambane, and it was only when the latter mission was temporarily suspended, owing to the ill-health of the workers, that their thoughts were again attracted to Gazaland. In 1888 Messrs. Wilder and Bates visited Gungunyana, Umzila's son and successor, only to find that his mind had been poisoned against them by the Portuguese, and that the permission once granted was now withdrawn. "Your feet have been too slow in coming," said the chief; "we have other missionaries now and cannot take you also." And with this discouraging reply the missionaries were forced to content themselves.

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CHAP. After the British South Africa Company had acquired territorial rights between the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers, another attempt was made to enter Gazaland. Messrs. Wilcox and Thompson, the leaders of this final movement, met on their journey Cecil Rhodes, the Chairman of the Directors of the above Company, who expressed his approval of the scheme of the Board, and promised a grant of 3000 acres for each missionary family. Under the influence of his new overlords, Gungunyana too made no further objections to the entrance of the missionaries. In 1893 the pioneer expedition, consisting of four American missionaries, and their families, together with several Zulu helpers, set out, and the first station was established at Mount Silinda, on the healthy highlands of Eastern Rhodesia. In the following year work was commenced at Chikore, twenty miles westwards, near the Sabi River. At these two stations the mission owns outright 25,000 acres of land, by which it is enabled to gather round itself a fairly constant native constituency.

The work done at these two centres has enjoyed a large measure of success. Schools have been established, churches built, an industrial department organised at Mount Silinda, and evangelistic work pursued in all directions. The population in the vicinity of the lofty Mount Silinda is less dense than at Chikore, but the former nevertheless possesses the more flourishing native congregation. Attempts have also been made, which owing to the unhealthiness of the climate have been frequently interrupted, to extend the work of evangelisation eastward into Portuguese territory; and Beira on the coast has even been occupied by a missionary of the Board. But, on the whole, the teeming populations of Portuguese East Africa still lie unevangelised, owing partly to the difficulties attendant upon the work in that insalubrious climate, partly to the paucity of workers.

III. WORK AT JOHANNESBURG AND PRETORIA.

The mines at Johannesburg and the high wages procurable there are the lodestone which draws natives from all parts of South and Central Africa. It has become almost an indispensable requisite for every missionary society to have some agency at Johannesburg, which can see to and care for the spiritual

needs of its converts while the latter are engaged on the mines. In 1893, accordingly, H. D. Goodenough was deputed to commence work there, it being intended that his labours should be merely preparatory, and that a native pastor should eventually take his place. He remained, however, and opened centres of work successively at Doornfontein, Brickfields, Mayfair, Robinson Deep and Elandsfontein, where work is now carried on by means of Sunday services, night schools, prayer meetings and inquirers' classes. The American missionary is assisted in the work by native preachers.

Another centre of work is at the administrative capital of South Africa, Pretoria, where little groups of natives have been gathered through the instrumentality of various converts of the mission.

The work of the American Board in South Africa has been a remarkable work, and it has been remarkably owned of God. Its missionaries, and especially its earliest missionaries, were men of great faith and great power in prayer. Through times of severe stress and trial they persevered, until they secured an open door into Natal, and laid the foundations of an enduring work. The "Missionary Herald," the organ of the Board, utters a serious complaint against the supporters of the work in America: "The work has succeeded wonderfully abroad; the failure has been at home". The previous pages have indicated something of the success which has attended the work abroad: may they serve to encourage the hearts and restore the hopes of the friends at home.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

THE FRENCH MISSION AFTER 1850.

What then is the service rendered to the world by Christianity? The proclamation of "good news". And what is this "good news"? The pardon of sin. The God of Holiness loving the world and reconciling it to Himself by Jesus, in order to establish the Kingdom of God, the city of souls, the life of heaven upon earth,—here you have the whole of it. But in this is a revolution.—H. F. AMIEL.

CHAP. XXXI. THE history of the Paris Society during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and especially during the first twenty years of that period, is most intimately connected with the political history of the Basuto nation. The vicissitudes of fortune to which the Basuto were subjected, overtook also the missionaries who had devoted their lives to the uplifting and religious enlightenment of that people. The Basuto, as we have seen, acknowledged Moshesh as paramount chief, and indeed owed their consolidation into a powerful nation to his ability and wise statesmanship. To a large extent, no doubt, Moshesh allowed himself to be guided by the counsels of his trusted missionaries, but after all allowances have been made, he remains the ablest politician which the Bantu race has yet produced in South Africa. This statement will be abundantly borne out by what is now to be related.

The Napier treaties of 1843 with the native chiefs along the Orange River had proved powerless to produce order in the territories affected by them, and in 1848 Sir Harry Smith proceeded to the northern frontier in order to bring about a settlement of affairs which it was hoped would prove final. His scheme, which he had fully matured before setting out on his mission, comprised the cancellation of the native treaties, and the establishment of British rule over the territories north of the Orange. He held two somewhat hasty conferences with Adam Kok, the Griqua chief, and Moshesh, in which they

were persuaded to renounce some of the rights they then exercised, and to agree to the proclamation of the Queen's authority over the territory north of the Orange River and west of the Drakensberg Range (3 Feb., 1848). The Sovereignty thus proclaimed was a failure. Broils between that section of the emigrant farmers that remained hostile to British rule and the constituted authorities, broils between the farmers and the natives, broils between the native tribes among themselves, were the order of the day. To such a pass did matters come, that the British Resident at Bloemfontein, who had sustained a disastrous defeat at the hands of an army of Bataung and Basuto, found himself in 1851 without authority in the Sovereignty ; and suffered the humiliation of seeing his burghers turn to Andries Pretorius—a proscribed man, upon whose head the British Government had placed a reward of £2000—and invite him to come and restore order.

In 1852 the emigrants north of the Vaal River, under the joint command of Messrs. Pretorius and Potgieter, secured their independence by the Sand River Convention ; and two years later the Sovereignty was also abandoned by the British Government, and independence thus thrust, much against their will, upon the inhabitants of the Orange River territory. In the meantime Moshesh had again given striking evidence of the possession of both military and political strategy, by first defeating General Cathcart at the battle of Berea, and then penning to him the following wise and conciliatory letter :—

THABA BOSIU, MIDNIGHT, 20 DEC. 1852.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—This day you have fought against my people and taken much cattle. As the object for which you have come is to have a compensation for boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken. I entreat peace from you. You have shown your power, you have chastised,—let it be enough, I pray you ; and let me be no longer considered an enemy to the Queen. I will try all I can to keep my people in order in the future.

Your humble servant,

MOSHESH.

In spite of the promise contained in the last sentence of this document, the Basuto chief proved in the immediate future to be unwilling, or at least unable, to check the continual depredations committed by his people upon the adjoining

CHAP. farmers. These cattle-lifting raids were admittedly the cause of
XXXI. all the disputes and wars between the Free State Republic and
 Moshesh, and the source of all the troubles and losses which
 fell upon the Paris Mission during the next fifteen years.

By the year 1855 the depredations of the Basuto had grown so intolerable, that it was evident that war was imminent between the Republic and Moshesh. Sir George Grey, that high-minded and Christian Governor of the Cape Colony, realising that a conflict between Boers and Bantu in which the former might easily be worsted, would endanger the prestige of the white races, and be a menace to the peace of the whole of South Africa, offered to intercede between the disputants. His mediation did not, however, much avail to stave off the fatal collision. Moshesh continued to play a double part. While professing the friendliest feelings towards the Cape Governor, whose neutrality in the impending conflict he was most eager to secure, he did not cease encouraging in secret the raiding propensities of his own subjects, nor intriguing with the Xosa chief Kreli for assistance in the event of war with the Boers.

War was finally declared by the Free State in 1858. The points of difference which were to be settled by this "dread arbitrament" can be reduced to two—the dispute about cattle-stealing, and the dispute about the true boundary. The Free State demanded, first, that Moshesh should put a summary stop to all thefts of cattle, that he should fully compensate the complainant burghers for all losses they had sustained by cattle-lifting, and that he should in the future maintain proper order along the Free State frontier. Next, the Free State demanded that Moshesh should acknowledge and respect the boundary line agreed upon between himself and Major Warden in the days of the Sovereignty. The Basuto chieftain failed to return satisfactory answers to these demands, and hostilities commenced.

In this war, as in all subsequent encounters between the Free State and the Basuto nation, the mission stations, lying as they did between the two combatants, suffered first and suffered most severely. The Beersheba station, on the Caledon River, at which Rolland had laboured with great fidelity and large results for twenty-two years, was completely destroyed. It was not pretended that the inhabitants of Beersheba had

given any cause for dissatisfaction to the surrounding Free State burghers. It was merely argued that military exigencies made it necessary to remove what might become a rallying-point for the enemy in the rear of the Boer commandoes. Severe losses were thus inflicted on the mission, and on Rolland in particular, and cruel suffering was caused to the unoffending natives, of whom nearly 400 were rendered homeless and foodless.

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A similar evil fortune overtook the Morija station. With the sole exception of Missionary Maeder, the white population of the station had withdrawn on the approach of the Boer commandoes. At a native village situated at a little distance above the mission station, the burghers were horrified at finding the mutilated remains of some of their companions who had fallen in a previous encounter with the Basuto. These dismembered human remains had been conveyed thither by native witch-doctors for superstitious and nefarious purposes. The sight so enraged the burghers, that they laid waste all the villages in the vicinity, and destroyed the better part of the station itself, sparing only the church and Maeder's dwelling-house. It was commonly believed among the burghers that Arbousset, who was then senior missionary at Morija, had borne arms for the Basuto, and had fled from the station in order to escape the vengeance of the Boers. It was, however, clearly shown that there was not a word of truth in this story, and that Arbousset had only withdrawn with his family to a cave in a neighbouring mountain, in fear lest the excitement and suspense of a battle might prove fatal to one of his daughters who was seriously ill.

The destruction of mission property at Beersheba and Morija was regarded with considerable indignation in mission circles in Europe, and strong representations were made by the French consul at Cape Town to the Imperial Government, asking it to intervene with a demand for substantial compensation. Her Majesty's Government, however, saw no reason to interfere, regarding the regrettable occurrences referred to as the inseparable accidents of war. Nor would the Free State Government entertain the claims to compensation preferred by either missionaries or traders, though it voted £100 to the Paris Society towards the repair of the buildings at Morija

CHAP. XXXI. which had sustained damage. After a few months of fighting, in which the ultimate advantage remained with Moshesh, the mediation of Sir George Grey was called in, and a peace patched up by the Treaty of Aliwal North (September, 1858). By the fourth article of the Treaty it was stipulated "that 6000 acres of land immediately surrounding the mission station of Beersheba . . . shall continue to be held by the French Mission, in trust for missionary purposes, with full power, if they see fit to do so, to dispose of the same to any purchaser . . . the funds so realised to be used for the establishment of a new station or stations," etc.¹

It was during the course of this same year (1858) that the ranks of the missionaries were augmented by the arrival of three men who in subsequent years left deep impressions upon the work in South Africa,—François Coillard, Adolphe Mabille and Eugene Casalis, Jr. Two years previously the elder Casalis had been recalled by the Committee, in order to occupy an important position as head of the Mission Training Home in Paris. At the close of the war of 1858 the first Conference of French missionaries met at Hermon. The bonds that united them were at this gathering drawn closer, and they agreed to unite in prayer for each other at eight o'clock every Saturday night. This decision marked an epoch in the history of the mission. A spirit of greater prayerfulness was evoked, the faith of the brethren was strengthened, and new enthusiasm was engendered for the cause of Christ among the Basuto.

There was need for the missionaries thus to unite and consecrate themselves anew to the work. In the war which had just been concluded they had sustained severe personal losses; more serious still, the Society had suffered, and its labours and influence had been subjected to a serious set-back. To the distress and discouragement of the missionaries, there appeared, during the period immediately succeeding the war of 1858, an alarming recrudescence of heathenism. The war had awakened slumbering passions. Heathen superstitions, which had appeared to be gradually dying out, were revived as a means of arousing the national feeling. Moshesh, and the other chiefs subject to him, were beginning to consult the witch-doctors again.

¹ "Basutoland Records," II, p. 476.

Coillard had been appointed to the Leribe station, to labour among the tribe who acknowledged as chief Molapo, Moshesh's second son. His journals describe the demoralisation which was taking hold of the people. Heathen customs and diversions—dancing, drinking, feasting—won back many Christian converts to the ranks of heathenism. Outwardly, a state of semi-anarchy prevailed in and around Molapo's province. Coillard writes as follows :—

These days really, Boers upon Boers arrive here about thefts. . . . Molapo came to dinner with me. . . . We talked of everything, and especially of the Basuto, who nowadays steal more than ever. I translated to him a letter from J. Boshof who complains bitterly that four or five of his oxen have disappeared. . . . The stolen oxen were found in a little village belonging to Lesawana, and the robbers said it was their chief who had sent them, and that he had already received two of the oxen.¹

When Sir Philip Wodehouse became Governor of the Cape in 1862, he at once gave his serious attention to the Basuto question, which had become one of great urgency. President Brand, who had assumed the direction of affairs in the Free State in 1864, invited him to mediate in settling the boundary between Basutoland and the Republic, which, in spite of the treaty of 1858, was still a matter of continual dispute. The Wodehouse award, given towards the end of the same year, was wholly in favour of the Free State. The Basuto, though obliged outwardly to acquiesce, were secretly rebellious, and only waited for an opportunity to provoke a collision with their white neighbours. “The position at the close of 1864 was this: the Free State had appealed to Caesar, and were satisfied; they felt morally justified before the world in defending or fighting for the land awarded to them. The Basuto were disappointed, and should have honoured the award, but failed to do so.”²

After the award border raids and cattle thefts continued as before. A nephew of Moshesh named Ramanella (the same man who is called Lesawana in Coillard's journals) made himself especially notorious and obnoxious, not only to the Free State burghers, but also to the Natal colonists; and it was only the tact and devotion of Coillard, who negotiated success-

¹ “Coillard of the Zambesi,” pp. 81, 82.

² Lagden: “The Basutos,” I, p. 337.

CHAP. fully with Theophilus Shepstone, the Secretary of Native Affairs, that averted the vengeance of Natal from the heads of the Basuto delinquents.

In 1865 the Free State burghers again took up arms against their ancient enemies. Moshesh was now an old man, and unable either to curb or to direct the turbulent spirits over whom he still held sway. The battles and skirmishes of this struggle cannot here be described. The Boer forces were unable to subdue Thaba Bosiu, Moshesh's stronghold, but they penetrated the Basuto defence, laid waste the country, and captured large numbers of cattle. The chief, thus reduced to great straits, made strenuous efforts to induce the British Government to intervene, and requested Sir Philip Wodehouse to proclaim the Queen's authority over his dominions. It took time to overcome the reluctance of the British Government to undertake additional responsibility, but Wodehouse, whose sympathies were strongly on the Basuto side, did not cease to plead their cause. At length, in 1868, the desired permission was obtained, and the Governor notified President Brand that the Queen had empowered him to take the Basuto nation under British protection.

The proclamation by which the Basuto were "admitted unto the allegiance of her Majesty," as the phrase rang, was beyond all doubt the salvation of that nation. They were practically at their last gasp. The Free State commandoes had possession of their mountains; the Transvaal was actively aiding its sister republic; the sympathies of Natal had been estranged by Ramanella's raids; and finally Molapo, Moshesh's second son, had made his peace with the Free State, and handed over to the Boers a large tract of country west of the Caledon River. The Wodehouse proclamation, therefore, came just in time to prevent the total dismemberment of the Basuto people.

Needless to say, President Brand and his Volksraad were seriously embarrassed and annoyed by the intervention of the British Government at the very moment when they had the Basuto at their mercy. The President addressed a remonstrance to Governor Wodehouse, recapitulating the chief points of recent history, and pointing out that the Imperial Government had abandoned the right of intervention, the exercise of

which at this juncture would be highly impolitic, as well as a direct violation of the Convention of 1854. The remonstrance remained unheeded; Sir Philip Wodehouse actively interfered by sending a force of Cape Mounted Police to Basutoland; and the Free State, rather than embroil itself with Great Britain, assented in 1869 to the Convention of Aliwal North, by which peace was established.

One of the causes which brought about a revulsion of public feeling in England in favour of the Basuto, and consequently also a change in the attitude of the Home Government, was the expulsion of the French missionaries by a decision of the Free State Volksraad. This decision involved the immediate removal of thirteen missionaries with their families, and the relinquishment of all their homes, churches, schools and other immovable property. Thus to be compelled to abandon the work of thirty-two years was a cruel hardship, and their expulsion drew from the missionaries many letters of indignant remonstrance. Both in Cape Town and in England many private friends and many public men were led to champion the cause of the exiled missionaries; but though the Volksraad was induced by the force of public feeling to make certain concessions to the missionaries—concessions which, it must be added, were indignantly rejected—it refused to withdraw the decree of banishment, and for three years the missionaries remained in exile, and the native Christians were deprived of the instruction and spiritual comfort of their beloved pastors.

The reasons which were adduced for this act of unwise dom and injustice towards the missionaries were that they had not confined themselves to their true functions, but had involved themselves in political affairs, and so were proving a menace to the interests of the Free State. These charges, however, were not, and could not be, substantiated by any reliable evidence. The letters which the missionaries sometimes reluctantly penned for the chiefs, proved indeed their sympathy with the natives, but showed also their anxiety to tone down harsh or insulting expressions, and, so far as possible, to promote the interests of peace and conciliation. It must also be related that President Brand strongly opposed the motion for the expulsion of the missionaries; but his wise words and

CHAP. warnings were unheeded, and the fiat for the expatriation of
XXXI. the missionaries accordingly went forth.¹

When, after the Convention of Aliwal North, the missionaries returned to their flocks, they found much to encourage them. Their enforced absence had proved in many respects beneficial to the native congregations. The increased responsibility which was cast upon the native teachers and helpers during the exile of the white missionaries, had evoked a spirit of self-reliance and awakened many dormant capacities. A great revival had visited the Basuto church, and the returning missionaries were welcomed back by far larger congregations than those they had been compelled to leave. At Morija, for example, the teacher presented 100 converts to Arbusset, while 436 baptism candidates were awaiting admission to the visible Church. The large accessions to the ranks of the Christians introduced new activity into the growing Church. Schools, dwelling-houses and places of worship were re-erected, out-stations were planted, and literature in the vernacular circulated. A visit from Dr. Duff of India, in 1864, had resulted in the establishment of many out-stations, and had also led indirectly to the commencement of the Morija Normal School, at the head of which was placed Adolphe Mabille. All these agencies were now greatly strengthened and extended.

The old chief Moshesh died in 1870. He was already an old man, and was completely worn out by the anxieties and disasters which had fallen to his share during recent years. A change appeared to come over him as he neared the end of his career. A year before his death he was visited by Mrs. Mabille, a daughter of the elder Casalis. Moshesh had known her since childhood, and was sincerely attached to her. As

¹ "The missionaries who were expelled from the scenes of their former labours were Mr. Daumas, of Mekuatling; Mr. Coillard, of Leribe; Mr. Mabille, of Morija; Mr. Dyke and Dr. Casalis, of Hermon; Mr. Germond, of Thabana Morena; Mr. Maeder, of Siloe; Messrs. S. & E. Rolland, of Poortje; Mr. Cochet, of Hebron; and Messrs. Ellenberger and Gosselin, of Bethesda, with their families—forty-six individuals in all. Mr. Keck was permitted to remain at Mabolela, though within the annexed territory. On account of the destruction of the mission buildings, Dr. Lautré and his family were at the same time compelled to abandon the station at Thaba Bosiu, so that the French mission was for a time nearly broken up. Most of its members retired to Aliwal North." Theal: "History since 1795," Vol. IV, p. 202. See also Appendix, *Note U*.

she was leaving the chief's presence, he asked her to give him a prayer to use. Fearing that he would look upon a written one as a charm, she replied : "I will give you a short one, which you can easily remember—*God be merciful to me, a sinner*". These words seemed to anger Moshesh, and he replied harshly : "Little girl, who told you I was a sinner? I shall get to heaven as well as you."

Some months after this occurrence he was visited by Missionary Jousse, who read to him the fourteenth of John, and ended by saying : "Son of Mokachane, a throne is prepared for you in heaven: believe in Jesus, the Saviour of the world, and you shall be saved". It was as though the old chief heard the Gospel message for the first time. These two thoughts took hold of his heart and his imagination—a heaven opened to the sinner, and a Saviour who grants him possession of it. When the missionary had departed he directed that the passage should be read aloud to him again, and then he began to reproach the Christians surrounding him that they had concealed the way of salvation from him for so long. At midnight he sent a message to Jousse : "Moshesh declares himself a Christian". The missionaries who subsequently dealt with him were convinced that the change was as real as it was remarkable, and the date of his public baptism was fixed for 20 March, 1870. On 12 March, however, rather suddenly, he died, saying to his attendant : "Lift me up, that I may fly away". On the same day, and almost at the same hour, Prosper Lemue, after forty years of faithful toil, passed to his reward.

After 1870 the mission in Basutoland enjoyed a period of steady though not wholly unchequered progress, which has continued to the present day. A very few words must suffice to summarise the most important points of its history. Of those important offshoots of the Basuto work, the Zambezi mission and the Swiss mission to the Northern Transvaal, we shall speak more fully at a later stage. The visit of Major C. H. Malan in 1874 brought great encouragement and inspiration to the French missionaries, and the Convention subsequently held at King William's Town contributed largely towards deepening the spiritual life of the two men, Coillard and Mabille, who were privileged to attend it.

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In 1866 the station Motito in Bechuanaland was finally made over to the London Missionary Society; Frédoux, the missionary, having met his death at the hand of a drunken English trader, who caused the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder under the wagon on which the unfortunate missionary was seated. Before 1880 most of the first generation of missionaries had passed away. The deaths of Lemue and Frédoux have already been chronicled. Pellissier and Lauga died in 1866; Gosselin in 1872; Rolland in the following year; and Arbousset in 1877. Bisseux and Casalis survived until a later period. These sturdy pioneers were missionary giants, whose works and influence have survived their mortal years, and must enhance their joy in the presence of the Eternal.

The so-called Disarmament War between the Basuto and the Cape Government (1880-81), which cost the latter £4,000,000, alienated the Basuto nation, and failed to secure the object for which it was waged, did also irreparable harm to the mission cause. Schools were destroyed, out-stations broken up, congregations scattered, and the regular work of the mission wholly interrupted. Law and order were at an end, unprincipled traders introduced brandy into the country, and general demoralisation among chiefs and people set in. In 1884 the Basuto chiefs agreed to the proposal of the Cape Government that Basutoland should be thenceforth a Crown Colony under Imperial control, and a British Resident was appointed. Since that time the country, and the mission likewise, have enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity. One-tenth of the Basuto people are now either professed Christians, or under Christian influence and instruction. In 1906 there were 22 head stations, with 18 European missionaries and 10 other European helpers. The out-stations numbered 194, with 203 schools, 253 native teachers and 11,000 scholars. There were 187 evangelists and catechists, and 7000 catechumens, while in all 22,000 converts had been received as members of the Church of Christ. This is a result, the greatness of which may well fill French Protestants with wonder and gratitude.

The French Protestant Church has been from the commencement, and has remained, the national Church of the Basuto people. The Roman Catholics, indeed, and the Church of England, who acknowledge no boundaries between them-

selves and other Churches, established themselves in Basutoland, the former as early as 1862, the latter in 1876. But in spite of their presence the French Mission remains by far the most important numerically, as it is the most influential ecclesiastically and educationally, of the christianising agencies at work in the Lesuto.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

FRANÇOIS COILLARD AND THE BAROTSI MISSION.

One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward;
Never doubted clouds would break;
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph;
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

ROBERT BROWNING.

The spirit of Missions is the spirit of Conquest. Forward, forward! The Gospel entered Europe by a prison.—FRANÇOIS COILLARD. (On the failure of Dieterlen's Mission.)

CHAP. XXXII. As the mission to the Barotsi was an offshoot of the Basutoland Mission, its story can be most conveniently told here. The idea of a mission to the tribes along the upper reaches of the Zambesi originated with Adolphe Mabille, whom we find writing in the following strain as early as 1863:—

I do wish so much that our Society would send some missionaries to the Makololo discovered by Livingstone, and speaking Sesuto, for they are in reality true Basuto. With the New Testament in their hands, and taking some Christians from here, I think the enterprise would be feasible. . . . There are two or three Basuto Christians who would willingly go even as far as the Zambesi. . . . I have long been thinking of it, but who will put his hand to the work.¹

Several troublous years were to elapse before the intention expressed in these words could be even partially carried out. When peace had been finally concluded between the Basuto and the Boers, the exiled missionaries returned, as we saw in the previous chapter, to a native Church which had been steadily growing in grace and in numbers. The missionaries, and especially Mabille, strove to impress upon the youthful Church the necessity of undertaking some sort of mission work among the more distant unevangelised tribes. The thoughts of the Christian Basuto turned first and turned naturally to

¹ "Coillard of the Zambesi," p. 119.

the Bapedi, a tribe with which they had waged ceaseless warfare in former years. It was a Christian impulse, to do good to those to whom once they had done evil only. But the opportunity was past, for the emissaries of the Berlin Mission had already established themselves in the Northern Transvaal, and were evangelising the Bapedi.

In the meantime Stephanus Hofmeyr, of the Dutch Reformed Mission, had commenced his labours under the shadow of the Zoutpansbergen; and he strongly urged his French brethren to cross the Limpopo, and undertake a mission among the friendly Banyai. A journey of reconnaissance was accordingly undertaken by four natives—two of them from Basutoland, and two of them members of Hofmeyr's mission. Their leader was called Asser, and he was in many respects a remarkable native,—courageous, persevering, and exact in his notes upon the prolonged journey which the party accomplished.

In 1875 the four natives returned with good tidings. Three Banyai chiefs had gladly consented to receive missionaries, and had already indicated sites for their stations. Asser's report kindled to a bright flame the growing enthusiasm of the native Church. At one meeting an old man rose at the back of the audience, and said: "Enough of talking. Let us do something." And with that he came forward and placed half-a-crown upon the communion table. His example was contagious, and the enthusiasm spread to other stations. Soon £500 had been subscribed, and large numbers of cattle, not yet reduced to cash, were in hand. In view of such liberality on the part of the native Church, the annual Conference of the Basutoland missionaries could no longer hesitate, and the Banyai mission was finally decided on.

Mabile pleaded to be allowed to lead the pioneer band, but he could ill be spared, and the choice of the brethren thereupon fell upon H. Dieterlen, a young missionary of parts who had recently arrived in Basutoland. With the prayers and good wishes of their brethren and friends, the expedition set out, but it reached no farther than Pretoria. The Transvaal authorities placed Dieterlen and his four native assistants under arrest for carrying arms, and they spent their first night at Pretoria in a Transvaal prison. Next morning Dieterlen was bailed out by the Berlin missionary Grüneberger, and by the payment of

CHAP. £14 he was able to release his catechists from incarceration and save his wagons from confiscation. No arguments could avail, however, to move President Burgers and his officials to grant the necessary leave to proceed northwards to Banyailand ; and the expedition had perforce to return home.¹

The Basuto Missionary Conference, though baffled for the time being, were in no wise daunted. At their next gathering they decided unanimously to prosecute the enterprise anew. The Transvaal Government, somewhat ashamed, no doubt, of their former ungracious attitude, had meanwhile given the missionaries to understand, in an indirect manner, that they would place no obstacles in the way of a new expedition, provided it were under the direction of a man of experience.

The Conference thereupon invited Coillard to place himself at the head of the pioneer party, and after serious and prayerful consideration, the offer was accepted. The departure from Leribe, where the Coillards had laboured for twenty years, took place in 1877. The party consisted of three Europeans, Coillard, his wife and his niece (a girl of 15), and twenty-four natives, men, women and children, the whole number being conveyed in three wagons. When they reached Pretoria, they found that the Transvaal had just been annexed to Great Britain, and that their old acquaintance Theophilus Shepstone had been appointed Special Commissioner. Very different was the reception which the Coillards met with to the treatment meted out to Dieterlen the previous year. Shepstone invited the missionary to an official banquet, and during the stay of the party at Pretoria, they met with many tokens of friendliness and kindness from all classes of the community.

After brief visits to the stations of Hofmeyr at the Zoutpansbergen, and of Creux and Berthoud, their Swiss brethren, the Coillards crossed the Limpopo, and made their way into Banyailand. It soon became evident that the original pioneers, Asser and his companions, had represented the advantages of possessing missionaries too exclusively as a temporal gain, and the native chiefs, on discovering that the white man brought with him no guns and no powder, gave the party a churlish if not an insolent reception. In the meantime news of the arrival

¹ See Appendix, *Note V.*

of an expedition from the south reached the ears of Lobengula, the Matabele chieftain, who claimed the Banyai as his slaves.¹ He professed to be highly indignant at this entrance into his dominions through what he called the *back-door*. Coillard was summoned to appear at Bulawayo immediately, in order to give an account of himself, and await the chief's pleasure. From December, 1877, to March, 1878, the expedition was detained at the chief's great kraal, and then sentence was passed that they should leave the country. The Basuto catechists were treated with the utmost scorn and contumely, because Molapo (whose name has already occurred in the previous chapter) had basely betrayed the Zulu chief Langalibalele, when the latter sought an asylum in Basutoland. "You Basuto, you smell of Molapo, that unworthy son of Moshesh, who betrayed and sold Langalibalele. We shudder at the sight of you! Allow you to settle in our territory? Never. There is the road which leads out of our country—begone!"

With heavy hearts the party turned southwards, and in April, 1878, reached Shoshong. The attempt to establish a mission in Banyailand had failed. Must they return to Basutoland to report that no foreign field could be found to work in, and so quench the missionary ardour of the young Church? To such a course of action Coillard could never consent. His own desire and intention had always been, after settling the catechists among the Banyai, to push on to the Upper Zambezi and visit the Barotsi tribe.² At Shoshong, after consultation with Hepburn and chief Khama, the attempt to reach the Barotsi was finally decided upon. The native wives and children and two of the catechists were left behind at Khama's kraal, and the remainder of the party prepared for the long and arduous journey to the Zambezi.

The departure from Shoshong took place in June, and it was the middle of August before Leshoma, at the confluence of the Chobe and the Zambezi, was reached. Their reception by the Barotsi was of the most friendly nature. Coillard at once sent an ambassage to the great chief of the country,

¹"Banyai" means literally *dogs*, and was the Matabele term of reproach. The Banyai call themselves the *Va-karanga*.

²By this time the Makololo tribe, the former rulers of the Upper Zambezi districts, had been destroyed. But the Sesuto language, which they had imposed upon the tribes they conquered, continued to maintain its hold over the people.

CHAP. XXXII. Robosi (subsequently known as Lewanika), requesting permission to enter. After two months came the answer,—a refusal. At this juncture first one and then another member of the mission was attacked by fever, for which reason there could be no thought of immediately commencing the return journey; and before the invalids had sufficiently recovered for a start to be made, another message arrived from Robosi: "Now that he knows who the *ngaka* (doctor) is, he salutes him very much, *very much*, and is happy to hear of his arrival. But he has only just come to the throne, and has no house, so he can receive no one just now. If you wish to leave the country before the rainy season, go in peace, but return in winter (i.e. April) and *for good*."

In February, 1879, the expedition was back at Shoshong. Three of the natives accompanying the party had died, and the rest were anxious to return to Basutoland. By way of the Swiss mission stations Coillard pursued his journey southward, reaching Basutoland after an absence of more than two years. The Synod of the Basuto Church was impressed with the urgency of the call to the Barotsi field, as presented by Coillard, but it was judged necessary that the latter should first visit France, in order to obtain the sanction and enlist the sympathy of the Paris Committee for the proposed new mission. That Committee accorded the undertaking its moral support, but stipulated, *first*, that the Basuto evangelists should be supported by their own countrymen, and, *second*, that a special fund should be opened for the Barotsi mission, to be raised by Coillard himself and his supporters. This arrangement has been consistently adhered to, and down to the present day the Barotsi Mission has received not one penny from the general fund of the Paris Society.

The second expedition to Barotsiland started from Leribe in 1884. It consisted of the Coillards and their niece, Elise Coillard, D. Jeanmairet, two artisan missionaries, and the Basuto evangelists with their families. Before the end of the year the Sesheke station was founded, and placed under the charge of Jeanmairet, presently to be married to Elise Coillard. The progress of mission work was, however, exceedingly slow. The reasons for this may be sought, to a certain degree, in the low level of morality and culture at

which the Barotsi lived. It took twenty years "to bring the Barotsi up to the social level of the Basuto when mission work began among them in 1833. . . . The Barotsi, apart from a few individuals, had not a vestige of such moral conceptions as fair play, justice, fidelity and kindness, with which the Basuto seemed endowed by nature, though they did not always act upon them. The Basuto had no slaves: in Barotsiland all were slaves, and were only emancipated in 1906 under strong external pressure. . . . The impression created on the mind is that the Basuto were really a primitive race on the upward path, while the Barotsi were a nation already in decay."¹

With the establishment of a second station at Sefula, 300 miles higher up the Zambesi than Sesheke, the pioneering stage of the Barotsi mission may be looked upon as ended. For the next six years, however, the mission continued to stand upon a precarious footing. Though Robosi (Lewanika) remained their staunch friend, the mass of the people and the petty chiefs did not conceal their antagonism to the missionaries. At Sesheke the chiefs devised a scheme (which was happily rendered futile) for seizing the white men, tying them together and throwing them to the crocodiles. In course of time, by tact and patience, the opposition of the natives was overcome. Coillard was successful in inducing Lewanika to effect many improvements in the social condition of his subjects. The slave trade was put down; cattle raiding was discontinued, and the Barotsi learnt to raise their own herds; improved methods of agriculture were introduced. In many ways the nation was making progress in the arts of civilisation, and progress also, though at a less rapid rate, in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion.

From time to time reinforcements of men came out from Europe. In 1887 there arrived Dr. Dardier and A. Goy, with Mr. and Mrs. Louis Jalla, and later on the ranks of the missionaries were augmented by Mr. and Mrs. Adolphe Jalla, Mr. and Mrs. Béguin and Miss Kiener. The climate of the Zambesi Valley, as is well known, is one of the most pestilential in South and South-Central Africa. At one time it seemed as if the terrible experience of the Helmore-Price

¹ "Coillard of the Zambesi," p. 329.

CHAP. XXXII. expedition was to prove the experience of the French missionaries also. Of the workers mentioned above, Messrs. Dardier and Goy and Mmes. Louis and Adolphe Jalla succumbed to attacks of fever; and at a later stage, during the three years 1899-1901, no less than nine missionaries laid down their lives. Mrs. Coillard, the cultured and courageous wife of the head of the mission, who had braved every danger and borne every privation at her husband's side, died at Sefula in 1891.

In 1890 Lewanika consented to have his country proclaimed a British protectorate. Two years later Coillard removed from his old station, Sefula, to the capital itself, Lealui, where the mission has been established ever since. In 1894 there was a general awakening among the people; many professed conversions took place, and the missionaries were filled with new hope and fresh ardour. The ultimate fruit, however, was less than they were led to expect; and as the population was in a state of continual flux, it was alike difficult to maintain effective moral supervision and to impart effective mental instruction. In 1895 Coillard could write, at the ford of the Zambesi :—

What a difference between the passage of to-day and that of 1884! Then, not a soul in that vast region knew even the name of the Lord, no one prayed to Him. To-day, let us acknowledge it to His glory, "the Lord hath done great things". We reckon five flourishing stations, and on each of them a greater or lesser number of Zambesians who profess to have found the Lord.

After spending three years in Europe, Coillard returned to Barotsiland in 1898 with a party of fifteen for the extension and strengthening of the work. Unfortunately, immediately after their arrival a period of adversity set in. The rainfall was excessive, and malaria made terrible havoc among both Europeans and natives. Several workers died, others had to be sent home invalided or widowed; and only five of the original band survived and continued the work. It was a time of great trial and anxiety for Coillard. "The care of all the Churches" weighed heavily upon him. The criticisms, frequently unsympathetic and unjust, levelled at the Barotsi mission, wounded him to the heart. The loss of so many colleagues, among whom were several men of great ability,

overwhelmed him with sorrow. "The last seven years of his life in Africa were beyond all question the saddest and most troubled of his life."¹

The end came to Coillard as he could have wished it. "My great, great desire," he once wrote to a friend, "is, not to live a day longer than I can work." This desire was granted. He contracted hæmaturic fever (blackwater), and on 27 May, 1904, the brave, gentle spirit passed to its reward. He was buried beside his wife under the great tree at Sefula, where a marble cross, with the motto, TO LIVE IS CHRIST, marks his resting-place. In his will he had written the following :—

On the threshold of Eternity and in the presence of my God, I solemnly bequeath to the Churches of France, my native land, the responsibility of the Lord's work in Barotsiland; and I adjure them, in His Holy name, never to give it up—which would be to despise and renounce the rich harvest reserved to the sowing they have accomplished in suffering and tears.

¹ "Coillard of the Zambezi," p. 425.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE SWISS ROMANDE MISSION.

Christian missions constitute a power which escapes man's intelligence and analysis: they are the continuation of the Apostles' work, and apart from the subtleties of theology, they avail to bring us back to the True Faith.
—CAPTAIN ALFRED BERTRAND.

CHAP. THE mission of the Churches of French Switzerland (La Suisse XXXIII. Romande) is, like the Barotsi mission, connected with the Basutoland mission by the closest of ties—a common speech, a common faith, a common system of Church government. Its history must here be briefly recounted.

In 1869 the Synod of the Free Church of Canton Vaud was in session at Lausanne, when two students who had just completed their theological course there, offered their services as foreign missionaries, "whether under the tropics or on the northern ice". They were the two friends Ernest Creux and Paul Berthoud. The Synod, after due consideration, accepted the offer of the two young men, and the *Mission vaudoise*—the Mission of the Church of Vaud—was thus inaugurated. The intimate relations subsisting between the Protestant Churches of France and Switzerland, induced the Vaud Committee to send their first missionaries to Basutoland, and for three years, from 1872 to 1875, Creux and Berthoud, while deriving their support from their own Church, stood under the direction of the Paris Society.

Shortly after their arrival in Basutoland, a journey of exploration was undertaken by Mabille and Berthoud to the northern portion of the Transvaal. The tribes in that region understood and spoke the Sesuto language, and the French missionaries desired to stimulate the missionary ardour of their Basuto converts by establishing a mission among them. The Berlin Society and the Dutch Reformed Church had, however,

already occupied the district known as Zoutpansberg, and the two explorers were obliged to go farther afield. In the north-eastern corner of the Transvaal they found a tribe whom the Boers called the *Knopneuzen*¹ ("knob-noses"), but who styled themselves Ma-gwamba. Among these natives no mission had as yet been established, and the two brethren conceived this to be a suitable field in which to commence a new work.

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XXXIII.

Their opinion was endorsed by the Conference of French missionaries, which drew up and transmitted to the Paris Committee a memorandum to the following effect:—

In view of the duty of carrying the Gospel to the Bamoletsi and Makoapa (= Ma-gwamba), we urge upon the Committee itself to undertake this new mission, which with respect to language, literature and native agents, will always depend more or less upon that of Basutoland. If the Paris Committee is absolutely unable to commence this work alone, Conference earnestly requests it to enter into communication with the Free Church of Canton Vaud, in order that the establishment of the mission, which has become a very urgent matter, should be no longer delayed.²

The Paris Committee accepted the latter alternative, and the Church of Vaud, thus appealed to, decided upon the new undertaking. The young missionaries and their wives took their departure from the Lesuto in five wagons, and after a journey that was not lacking in unforeseen mishaps and delays, arrived at their destination in July, 1875. The region in which they established themselves is known by the Boers as Spelonken ("caves"), because of its extremely mountainous appearance, and here the pioneers laid the foundation of their first station, Valdezia.

The tribe among whom they had settled were the Ma-gwamba, and their language is called the Chi-gwamba, though towards the east, in the vicinity of Delagoa Bay, it is also known as Thonga, Ronga or Djonga. The missionaries had been led to understand that all the native tribes dwelling in Northern Transvaal made use of the Sesuto language, which, during their three years' stay in Basutoland, they had mastered. But

¹ "This name was given to these people on account of their special fashion of tattooing, by which they cause warts of the size and shape of a pea to develop along the top line of the nose to the very point, and also around the eyes. Fortunately this absurd fashion is gradually diminishing." (Berthoud : "Note on Gwamba Language," p. 46.)

² Jousse : "La Mission Française," II, p. 178.

CHAP. here was a tribe that understood no Sesuto, and there was no
XXXIII. help for it but that the missionaries should apply themselves
with the utmost diligence to acquiring the new speech.

An unexpected and most unwelcome interruption of the labours of Creux and Berthoud occurred in 1876. In civil matters they were subject to the authority of the landdrost of Zoutpansberg, who resided at Marabastad. One day a letter arrived from this official directing them to obtain from the Government at Pretoria an official authorisation to undertake mission work. The order fell upon them like a bolt from the blue. A visit to the field-cornet, however, appeared to put matters straight, and the two brethren returned to Valdezia armed with a certificate from that functionary permitting them to continue their labours. Some months had elapsed when another unwelcome missive arrived from the landdrost, averring that the certificate of the field-cornet was insufficient, and maintaining that, since they had procured no leave from the Government, the mission work must cease.

This decision caused the missionaries the greatest distress. They stoutly maintained that when they had passed through Pretoria the Vice-President (Joubert) had assured them that no permission to evangelise the natives was necessary ; they saw the other societies around them engaging in mission work without let or hindrance from the Government ; and they therefore replied (perhaps somewhat unwisely) that under the circumstances it was impossible for them to cease preaching the Gospel. The response to this was an order, signed by Thomas Burgers, the President, himself, for the arrest of the bold missionaries. Creux and Berthoud were conveyed to Marabastad, where they were incarcerated for nearly six weeks.

The Government, however, had over-reached itself. This extreme measure found no favour with the farmers of the Zoutpansberg district, who for many years past had been under the unofficial pastoral care of Hofmeyr, the missionary, and whose attitude towards missionaries in general was of the friendliest nature. Twenty-two of them banded themselves together to proceed to Marabastad with the demand that the two missionaries should be set at liberty. But strong measures were happily unnecessary. The Government had already issued directions that the missionaries should be released, and

they returned to their homes and their labours with glad and CHAP.
grateful hearts. XXXIII.

Though the action of the Government in placing the Swiss missionaries under arrest is indefensible, it is not wholly inexplicable. It must be confessed that President Burgers, in 1876, was in an unenviable position. Since the commencement of the previous year his popularity and influence had steadily waned; he had greatly embarrassed the finances of the country; and to crown all, he found himself plunged into a serious war with the Bapedi chief Sekukuni. It is no great wonder that he viewed the missionaries with suspicious eyes, that he refused Dieterlen leave to pass through the territories of the Republic, and strove to silence the workers at Valdezia. But Burgers' course was almost run. In 1877 his five years' tenure of office came to an end, and the man who had opposed the missionaries, wounded the religious susceptibilities of his burghers, and banished the Bible from the Transvaal schools, retired finally from the political arena,—praised by none, and regretted by few.

Meanwhile the Divine blessing rested upon the labours of the Valdezia workers. Coillard, who visited them in 1877, thus describes their labours :—

Berthoud is a doctor, and his success in this branch has won him as much consideration and influence among the whites as among the blacks. Creux is above all an evangelist, and his thorough knowledge of English opens many doors to him. . . . People hereabouts stand considerably in awe of him.

Serious troubles overtook the Valdezia missionaries two years later. The season was exceptionally unhealthy. Both families were attacked by fever. At one stage both Berthoud and his wife, as well as all six children of themselves and the Creux', lay ill and helpless. At this juncture Coillard and his family arrived, on their return journey from the Zambesi. Five days later, in spite of careful nursing and ceaseless efforts, Mrs. Berthoud breathed her last. "So this beautiful soul, whose simple faith was always vanquishing the difficulties of life, passed triumphantly into a better world, the object of her hope."¹

The further history of this mission must be told in a very

"¹ Les Nègres Gouamba," p. 86.

CHAP. few words. From the first rich blessing attended the labours XXXIII. of the missionaries. Their first convert Lydia was baptised in 1876. By 1882 there were two stations (Valdezia and Elim), three out-stations, and 215 in attendance at the baptism classes.

The mission underwent a great change in 1883. In that year the Free Churches of Neuchatel and Geneva decided to join forces with those of Vaud. The mission was accordingly re-organised, and the *Mission vaudoise* became the *Mission romande* (or Mission of the Churches of French Switzerland). These Churches, though numbering only 20,000 members, contribute annually £8000 for the South African work, besides an equal amount for other missions.

An important extension of the field was undertaken in 1887. The attention of the missionaries had been frequently drawn to that section of the Thonga tribe that occupies the low-lying regions towards Delagoa Bay. Some years previous to 1887 they had sent an evangelist named Yosefa (Joseph) to labour among the people of a friendly chief, Magoude. Since then the work had rapidly grown and in 1885 Henri Berthoud, brother of the elder Berthoud, and Eugène Thomas, had spent three months in visiting this field of work. European supervision was felt to be indispensable, but the deadly climate was a serious barrier to undertaking work at or near the coast.

Paul Berthoud was the one to offer for the new and perilous field, and in 1887 the first station of the lowlands, Rikatla, was founded. A time of great blessing ensued. Considerable numbers were converted, and Berthoud tasted the joy of seeing the Lord daily add to the Church those that were being saved. The ranks of the missionaries on the littoral were also strengthened by the accession of Arthur Grandjean, Henri Junod, their wives, and Miss C. Jacot. The station of Lorenço Marques (Delagoa Bay) was established in 1889, and in the following year Antioka was founded.

To the north of the territory occupied by the Delagoa Bay section of the mission, lay the country ruled over by Gungunyana, and stretching, as he grandiloquently claimed, "from the Komati to the Zambesi". Gungunyana was the son and successor of Umzila, paramount chief of the Ama-tshangana (Shangaans), whose name has been already mentioned in this

history.¹ In 1891 Henri Berthoud undertook a tour of exploration to this chief's capital, Mandlakazi, where he received a friendly reception and an invitation to start a mission in Gungunyana's dominions. The Home Board acceded to the request, and the money needed for the new enterprise was soon subscribed, and indeed over-subscribed. But for one reason and another—chiefly the pestilential climate—Mandlakazi was not occupied until 1894, when Dr. G. Liengme commenced a medical mission there. In the following year, unhappily, hostilities broke out between Gungunyana and the Portuguese Government. The chief whose kingdom extended "from the Komati to the Zambesi" was defeated in several engagements, captured in 1895, sent to Portugal, and thence deported to Portuguese West Africa, where he ended his days. In the disorders of these years both Rikatla and Mandlakazi were burnt to the ground, and while the former was rebuilt, the latter remained in ruins.

Of late years the Romande Mission, under the blessing of God, has made great progress. In 1902 the annual report mentioned 53 European missionaries (including wives), 50 native workers, 9 stations, 30 out-stations, 958 communicants, 46 schools and 1600 pupils.² The New Testament in the Thonga language first appeared in 1895, and it was followed by another version in Ronga. A literature of some size and importance has issued from the mission press, and the attitude of the Portuguese Government towards the educational work of the missionaries is decidedly encouraging. As a very large proportion of the natives working on the Johannesburg mines are Shangaans, and speak the Thonga language,³ the Romande Mission has commenced a work there, and another at Pretoria, both of which places are now centres of great activity.

¹ Chap. xxx, p. 307.

² See Appendix, *Note W*, for later statistics.

³ See *Note X* (The Thonga Language).

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE RHENISH MISSION IN LATER YEARS.

In the tremendous struggle for existence on the face of the earth, which will become a war of races, as among ourselves already it is one of individuals, there is no prospect but extermination for the inferior civilisations, except in one event—except in the spread among the higher races of that missionary Christian spirit which approaches the weak not to destroy, but to fulfil, not to crush, but to raise and preserve.—PRINCIPAL FORSYTH.

THE HERERO MISSION (DAMARALAND).

CHAP. THE peaceful progress of the Herero Mission, which in 1850
XXXIV. seemed about to enter upon a period of prosperity, was rudely disturbed by Jonker Afrikaner. This Hottentot chief had wearied of the restraints imposed upon him by missionary influence and missionary teaching, and had resumed his predatory career. The Hereros he looked upon as his natural prey. Their kraals were attacked, the men slain, the women mutilated, the cattle driven off. The unfortunate Hereros were powerless to defend themselves against their armed and mounted enemies ; and though the missionaries strove hard to restore peace, their intervention was contemptuously rejected by Jonker.

On the heels of war came disease, drought and famine, and the very existence of the mission was threatened. One by one the missionaries left their stations, until at length only Schöneberg was left at Barmen. Rath and Hahn, however, soon returned, and in 1858, after fourteen years' toil, the latter was able to baptise the first-fruits of the Herero Mission—a native girl who for years had been attached to his family as general servant. But beyond this one convert, the Gospel seemed to have made no progress whatever among the Hereros. Hahn left again for Germany. Rath passed through a terrible experience. The vessel in which he was returning from the Cape with his family stranded at Walvisch Bay, and his wife and four children

perished in the surf. Under such grievous trials and discouragements it is small wonder that the sorely tried missionaries lost heart, and asked themselves despairingly whether it were worth while to continue a mission which, after seventeen years of strenuous toil, had resulted in next to no fruit. In 1861 Rath and Hörnemann, the last missionaries, left the country never to return, and it appeared as if the Herero Mission were now finally abandoned.

The Divine purposes, however, cannot be frustrated, and the barren Herero field was still destined, in the providence of God, to rejoice and blossom as the rose. Hahn had left behind on his station a native assistant named Daniel Cloete, and it is due to this man's faithfulness and faith, that the mission was ultimately resumed. Jonker, meanwhile, had died at Okahandja in 1861, and his son and successor, Christian, had none of his father's influence or ability. Hostilities were suspended, cattle-raids and midnight attacks ceased, and a period of quiet—unhappily all too brief—ensued. Missionary Kleinschmidt, too, of Rehoboth, continued to pay occasional visits to Otjimbingue, and assisted to keep alive the expectation that the work among the Hereros would in due season be recommenced.

This expectation was fulfilled in 1863 by the arrival of Brincker, who came upon the scene at a critical juncture in the history of the Herero nation. Since Jonker's death they had conceived the idea of throwing off the yoke of their Hottentot oppressors, and achieving independence. The most important of the Herero chiefs, Kamaherero, refused therefore any longer to herd Christian Afrikaner's cattle, declared his independence of Hottentot domination, and proceeded to entrench himself at Otjimbingue. Here on 15 June, 1863, he was attacked by Christian's people, and a fierce encounter took place. The Hereros defended themselves with great courage, and the Hottentot attack was repulsed, with a loss to the latter of 200, among whom was their leader. This encounter may be looked upon as the commencement of the Herero war of independence.

Christian was succeeded as head of the Afrikaner clan by Jan Jonker, a man of much greater military skill. The war between Hottentots and Hereros continued for seven years. The various Herero clans united under the leadership of

CHAP.
XXXIV. Kamaherero, and though frequently attacked by large bodies of well-armed Hottentots, succeeded in almost every case in beating off their assailants. A decisive battle was fought at Omukaru, not far from Okahandja, in 1870. The Hottentots brought into the field every man they could muster, and with their whole force made a fierce attack upon the Hereros, but they were repulsed with a loss of more than 200, while the Hereros lost but seventy. Both parties were now thoroughly weary of the conflict, and the Hottentots, who saw no chance of again reducing their antagonists to vassalage, agreed in 1870 to a formal treaty of peace and friendship. Jan Jonker's power and influence was so reduced, that he was glad to accept the loan of Windhoek for himself and his clan, and for the Rhenish missionary who laboured among them. Thus did the Hereros establish their complete independence.

It may be imagined that during the seven troublous war-years the missionaries were in no enviable position. Indeed, they were the only Europeans left in the country, for the traders and hunters, foreseeing a long and wearisome conflict which could only bring them grievous loss, had taken their departure. The mission stations suffered heavily. Gobabis was broken up by the Hottentots, the missionary driven away, and property to the value of £2000 plundered or destroyed. Rehoboth, where Kleinschmidt had toiled for nineteen years, was next threatened by Jan Jonker, as its chief, Zwartbooi, was an ally of the Hereros. With a heavy heart Kleinschmidt made up his mind to withdraw with his congregation to Otjimbingue. While on the march they were attacked by Jonker's people, a number of women and children were burned to death, and the Kleinschmidts only escaped death by instant flight. After four days of great exertion Kleinschmidt succeeded in bringing his family safely to Otjimbingue, but the dangers and privations to which he had been exposed were too much for his already enfeebled frame, and on 2 September, 1864, he died in Hahn's arms. Furthermore, the stations of Gibeon, Hoatchanas en Barmen were attacked by the Hottentots, and either destroyed or completely plundered. In 1868 a Hottentot captain named Jakob Boois fell upon Scheppmannsdorf, forced the missionary J. F. S. Eggert to leave, and

then despoiled him of his goods and drove off his cattle. The Hottentots justified acts of hostility such as these by maintaining that the sympathies of the missionaries lay wholly with their enemies the Hereros, whom they assisted with their advice and even with more material aid.

For ten years peace reigned between Hottentots and Hereros, though amicable relations could never be established between communities that despised each other as heartily as they did. Jan Jonker, once all-powerful in Damaraland, was now reduced to penury. He occupied Windhoek by the grace of Kamaherero; the flocks and herds of his former enemies were allowed to graze upon the pasturage which had been assigned him; and the conduct of the Hereros appeared to aim at making his position untenable, and compelling him to seek an asylum elsewhere. Under such circumstances a collision between the hereditary foes could not be long postponed. It occurred in 1880, the immediate cause being the supposed theft of a cow by the Hottentots. In the skirmish which ensued the Hottentots killed ten of their assailants, and captured 1500 head of cattle.

The news of this engagement provoked Kamaherero to a deed of great cruelty. He issued instructions that every Hottentot—man, woman or child—found within his territory should be killed. At his own kraal, Okahandja, more than twenty were murdered, and a general massacre occurred simultaneously at the other Herero centres. More than 150 Hottentots must have fallen victims to the inhuman order of the Herero chief. The Hottentot clans now banded themselves together and took the field, with the object of avenging the murder of their comrades. For many months the history of this guerrilla warfare is one of attack and counter-attack, of pillage and destruction, while neither party could gain a decisive advantage. Hugo Hahn tried, in 1882, to bring about a cessation of hostilities, but Jan Jonker held aloof, and the attempt was abortive.

In the early eighties the European Powers were engaged in a general scramble for Africa, and in 1884 Germany annexed the territory along the west coast from the Orange River to Cape Frio. The establishment of German authority in Great Namaqualand and Damaraland put an end to the bickerings between Hottentot and Herero, but the administration of the

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CHAP. country by officials who had had but little experience in dealing
 XXXIV. with native tribes, plunged the Germans into prolonged and costly wars, first with the Hottentots under Hendrik Witbooi, and subsequently with the Hereros. The rising of the latter, in 1903, was only put down in 1905, after the German Government had expended £15,000,000 and lost 1800 men.

Amid all vicissitudes and interruptions, nevertheless, the missionaries gradually increased their influence over the natives, and the number of converts steadily rose. In 1874 it was 2200, and in 1888 it had increased to 3600. Indeed, the work of the Rhenish Mission in Namaqualand, and especially in Damaraland, arouses astonishment, and compels admiration. With a recent writer on German South-west Africa, we may well say :—

With what endurance and energy did these first Rhenish missionaries work among the vagrant Hottentots, and among the proud Hereros, with their contempt for all white men. No disappointments, no losses, no dangers to life and limb could discourage them. Repeatedly they recommenced their laborious work from the very start, for many years without visible outward results. For decades they were distressed and endangered by the racial wars between the Namaqua and the Bantu, without the least protection on the part of any State, and cast wholly upon themselves and their own slender material resources.¹

The Herero rising of 1903-5 brought about a serious disturbance of missionary operations, and a considerable diminution in the numbers of converts, catechumens and pupils. Since the end of the war these numbers have shown a marked upward tendency, and in the course of 1908 alone 1700 were admitted by baptism to the Church of Christ. In 1909 the Rhenish Society was established at thirteen main stations and ten out-stations in Damaraland, and at six main stations in Great Namaqualand. In both these spheres taken together 11,000 have been baptised.

THE CAPE MISSION.

In the quarter of a century which began with the year 1850 the missions within the Cape Colony made substantial progress. Two of the earlier stations, Amandelboom (Williston) and Ebenezer, were given up, but at other places—not-

¹ Külz : "Deutsch-Südafrika," p. 225.

ably Stellenbosch, Worcester and Tulbagh—the congregations which had been established greatly increased in numbers and in activity. There were now three classes of missionary centres: first, mission congregations in large towns, such as the three just mentioned, together with Schietfontein, now the town of Carnarvon; second, mission stations, formerly called *institutes*, at which communities of coloured people dwelt, all under the same ecclesiastical control; third, mission stations which had gradually assumed the shape of Hottentot villages, such as Komaggas, Steinkopf and Concordia, in Little Namaqualand. It was found impossible to place these various classes of mission stations under a single missionary superintendent, and equally out of the question to control them by a central Committee, owing to the immense distances and the diversity of interests by which they were separated. They therefore gradually assumed the character of independent congregations, though naturally still united by the bond of a common faith, common confessions and catechisms, and a common hymn-book.

The principle of local self-support was one which the Committee at Barmen insisted should be introduced without unnecessary delay into the Cape Colony. Attempts, only partially successful, were made as early as 1864 to apply the principle to the colonial stations. At length it was agreed upon that from the commencement of 1878 the various congregations should be solely responsible for the salaries of their missionaries, while the Home Committee undertook for some years longer the support of retired missionaries and of missionaries' widows and children. Some of the congregations, notably Komaggas and Ebenezer, found it a matter of great difficulty to support their own missionary, and in such cases notice was given that the missionary would be withdrawn; which in most cases proved a sufficient stimulus to the congregations involved to devise new means for finding his salary.

No real harm was ever done to a mission station by depriving it, for a time, of the services of its missionary. For within the Cape Colony Hottentot heathenism is a thing of the past. "Mission work, properly so called, has ceased. The name of the Lord is proclaimed everywhere, and is known to all. Everywhere there are Christian congregations, churches

CHAP. and schools, and whoever so desires can at any place hear what
XXXIV. is necessary for salvation. Even where a missionary is recalled,
no great void is created. The neighbouring missionary or
minister, English or Dutch, is easily accessible, and there is no
lack of opportunity to listen to the preaching of the Gospel."¹

¹ Von Rohden : "Geschichte," p. 408.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BERLIN MISSIONS DURING THE LAST HALF-CENTURY.

There are moments in missions, as in war, when not only the interest but the capital of human life must be sunk in the venture.

We must remember that it was not by interceding in glory for the world that Jesus saved it. *He gave Himself*; and our prayers for the evangelisation of the world are but a bitter irony so long as we only give of our superfluity, and hold back from the sacrifice of ourselves.—FRANÇOIS COILLARD.

A NOTABLE advance was undertaken by the Berlin Mission CHAP.
in 1860, an advance into the field in which the Society ultimately reaped its richest harvests, viz. the Transvaal. The history of this advance must be now recorded.

The Transvaal Boers were known to be unfavourably disposed towards missionaries and mission work, though the charges levelled against them, especially by members of the London Mission, of having destroyed mission stations, have been proved to be without foundation. Owing, however, to their profound distrust of, and ill-concealed antipathy to, the British Government, missionaries, and especially English missionaries, were viewed with unfriendly eyes. In 1859 a well-meaning but somewhat tactless letter was addressed to them by the Port Elizabeth branch of the Evangelical Alliance, which, while professing the desire of enlisting their sympathies for mission work, cast such aspersions upon their attitude towards natives and missionaries, as served to irritate rather than to persuade. The "republic" of Lydenburg replied to the letter in a lengthy and sarcastic defence, which evinced great ability and considerable dialectical skill, but contributed nothing towards the furthering of missionary interests or the creation of a missionary spirit among the Transvaal burghers.¹ Owing to this suspicion on the part of the Boers towards missionaries

¹ Letter and Reply in "Elpis," Deel V (1861), pp. 55-91.

CHAP. of English societies, it was reserved for missionaries of the
XXXV. Hermannsburg¹ and Berlin Societies to be the first to occupy
the great field between the Vaal and Limpopo Rivers.

In 1860 instructions were issued by the Committee in Berlin to open up a new field, if possible among the Swazis, and for this undertaking the two young friends, Merensky and Grützner, who had lately reached South Africa, were designated. As Swaziland borders on the district of Lydenburg, the two pioneers thought it advisable to visit the latter village in order to enlist the sympathies and secure the protection of the authorities of the "republic" there established. From Lydenburg they proceeded to the residence of Umswazi, the paramount chief of the Swazi nation.

This was not the first attempt to evangelise the Swazis, and a few words must be said about the fruitless endeavour, in 1847, of James Allison, the Wesleyan, to plant the Gospel among this warlike nation. Accompanied by his wife and twelve Basuto assistants, he had established himself at Umkonto, near the kraal of the great chief. His reception was friendly in the extreme. Large numbers from the very first attended Divine worship. The Word of God appeared to find a ready entrance into the hearts of the heathen, and soon some thirty converts were preparing for baptism. Then, on a sudden, a violent tempest struck the unsuspecting missionary, uprooting his work, and putting an end to all his missionary operations. Around the mission station had assembled the adherents of one of Umswazi's brothers, who was a rival claimant for the chieftainship. These the reigning chief looked upon as rebels, and on a quiet Sabbath morning he suddenly attacked them at Umkonto, slaying great numbers, and sparing neither age nor sex nor childhood. Only two or three girls, whom Mrs. Allison had protected by casting her arms around them and covering them with a portion of her clothing, were saved from the fury of the Swazi warriors. After this appalling massacre, no course lay open to Allison but to withdraw to Natal, and with his withdrawal ended the first attempt to reach the Swazis.

Thirteen years had now elapsed since the disastrous end of the Allison mission, and Merensky and Grützner cherished

¹ See below, Chap. xxxix.

high hopes that their own attempt would be crowned with success. Their reception by Umswazi was not very reassuring. He was evidently distrustful of their intentions, and many days elapsed before he would grant them an audience. When at length the interview was accorded, he made it plain that what he sought from the missionaries was some temporal benefit, and, above all, a supply of powder and lead. Preaching, and in particular the promulgation of the pernicious doctrine that forbade war and bloodshed, he could not and would not permit. On these terms the missionaries found it impossible to remain in Swaziland, and they therefore, with heavy hearts, inspanned their wagon and "trekked" back to Lydenburg. *Their endeavour also to set foot in Swaziland had ended in failure.*

The missionaries, who thus found Swaziland closed to them, had not the least intention of withdrawing from the country. Their instructions had been clear as to establishing a new mission to the north of the Natal field, and they therefore proceeded to consider carefully the desirability of a work among the Transvaal Basuto.¹ After consultation with the Boer authorities at Lydenburg, and a tour of reconnaissance, they decided to settle among the people of Maleo, the petty chief of a tribe of some few thousand souls. Here the first Transvaal station of the Berlin Mission was founded. It received the name of Gerlach's Hoop, in honour of General von Gerlach, one of the Society's directors, whose desire it had always been that mission operations should be undertaken in the domain and under the auspices of the Lydenburg Boers.

At the outset Merensky and Grützner had to face many trials and difficulties. Before they were thoroughly settled, and while as yet the speech of the natives with whom they had cast in their lot was a foreign tongue, Merensky was attacked by fever, and his colleague had the misfortune to break his arm twice in succession. The sympathy and practical aid of a farmer named Grobler and his wife helped to tide them over their early misfortunes.

¹ The term Basuto is now applied almost exclusively to those tribes which Mosesh welded into one during the second quarter of the nineteenth century; but the home of the Basuto, before their dispersion by Moselekatse, was what is now the Transvaal, and several remnants of the nation are still to be found in their original habitat.

CHAP. In 1861 the two pioneers were joined by the missionaries XXXV. Endemann and Nachtigal. Accompanied by the latter Mervensky now moved farther northwards, and founded a second station among the Bapedi tribe, whose old chief Sekwati received them in exceedingly friendly fashion.

The older station, Gerlach's Hoop, was destined to pass through troublous times. The relations between the Transvaal Government on the one hand and the chiefs Maleo and Mapoch on the other had grown to be very much strained, and in 1863 the two chiefs broke out in open revolt. A commando of Boers tried to subdue them, but owing to the rough and broken nature of the country, and the strength of the native entrenchments, it had come off second best. But the victorious chiefs had other enemies besides the Boers. In 1864 they were attacked by a powerful Swazi army. Mapoch was completely routed, and the Swazis then marched upon Maleo's kraal. Flushed with his successful repulse of the Boer commando, Maleo refused to believe that a native army could succeed where a white force had failed. He was completely and terribly disillusioned by the event. The Swazi army fell upon his kraal with unparalleled vigour and fury. Maleo defended himself with great bravery, but he was no match for his relentless assailants. He himself perished, and with him most of his braves. Blood flowed like water in the chief's kraal. Men, women and children were massacred indiscriminately, and after the conflict the corpses were found of 854 men and 2842 women and children. A few women who had escaped were carried off to Swaziland as concubines.

The missionaries endeavoured to gather together the survivors of this catastrophe, and the Boer commandant appointed Maleo's son to the chieftainship. For a time there was peace and prosperity. The calamities they had suffered, and the fate which had overtaken their fellow-tribesmen, drew many to the public services. The Word of God had free course and was glorified, and in a short while seventy were attending the baptism class. Unhappily murder, pillage and oppression, which the Transvaal Government was unable wholly to put down, continued rife among the native tribes, and Maleo's people, being numerically small, were gradually but surely weakened.

In 1865 the station at Gerlach's Hoop was given up, and the missionaries moved farther south with the remnant of the tribe, and established themselves at Botshabelo, not far from the present town of Middelburg.

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The mission among the Bapedi tribe experienced the strangest vicissitudes. Shortly after Merensky's arrival old Sekwati died, and was succeeded in the chieftainship by his better-known and abler son Sekukuni. The new chief was well-disposed towards the missionaries, at least at the commencement, and hopes were entertained that he would embrace Christianity. But eventually heathen influences proved too strong, and he swung round to the other extreme, and set in motion a most violent persecution against the Christians. They were exposed, without food or fire, to the bitter mid-winter frosts; they were beaten with rods; they were driven from Sekukuni's territory, and forbidden ever to return. Not content with thus maltreating and banishing his own subjects, the chief ordered the missionaries out of his country. Merensky and Nachtigal tried to reason with him, and bring him to a better state of mind, but in vain. "Get you gone!" was his only reply. The three stations that had been commenced among the Bapedi had to be evacuated, and it seemed as if the door of Bapediland was finally closed to the Gospel (1864).

The door was never again opened during the chieftainship of Sekukuni. Fifteen years later this chief, who had given great trouble to both Boers and British, was ultimately worsted in an encounter with the latter, largely through the instrumentality of a regiment of Swazi allies, captured, and kept in durance at Pretoria. The English general (Sir Garnet Wolseley) granted to the Berlin Society 10,000 morgen of land in the vicinity of Sekukuni's town, as well as sites for stations in other parts of the Bapedi territory. After an interruption of a decade and a half, the mission to the Bapedi thus entered upon a new period of vigorous life.

When in 1864 Merensky and his fellow-missionaries were expelled by Sekukuni, they made their way southward, in the search for a site at which to settle. For a reasonable figure Merensky was able to purchase a suitable farm, to which he gave the name of Botshabelo, or "City of Refuge". Hither resorted the refugees from Sekukuni's tribe, and the remnant

CHAP. of the Bakopa tribe under Maleo's son Ramopudu. As the
XXXV. farm was the property of the Berlin Mission, it was possible to introduce law and order among the various elements that composed the new population, and to repress all heathen practices at variance with Christian principles.

The new station entered upon a period of unexampled prosperity. The missionaries were encouraged by good attendances and earnest attention at Divine service. The number of catechumens increased daily. In three years' time Merensky counted 860 inhabitants at Botshabelo, of whom fully the half were baptised Christians. The church had to be repeatedly enlarged. A suitable school building was erected. A shop and a mill followed. Some years later (1878) a normal and a training school were commenced, and industrial work was undertaken, to be succeeded by the erection of a printing and book-binding department. During the regime of Merensky, who retired to Germany in 1882, Botshabelo was the most successful and the most prominent station of the Berlin Society in Transvaal, and ever since then it has continued to hold the pre-eminence.

The decade 1865-75 was one of rapid expansion in the history of the Transvaal Mission, for it saw the establishment of no less than fourteen new stations and centres that continue until to-day.¹ During those ten years the Berlin Society planted itself firmly in the country, and established its claim, a claim that has never since been seriously questioned, to be the most considerable, as (with one exception) it was the earliest, missionary influence north of the Vaal River.

It is impossible to describe in detail the gradual occupation of important centres among the various Basuto tribes in the Transvaal. But a brief reference may be permitted to the commencement of a mission among the Bavenda (also called the Basoetla) of Northern Transvaal. This tribe, which has linguistic affinities with the Sechuana, rather than with the Zulu and Chithonga languages, inhabits the low-lying regions beyond the Zoutpansbergen. Before 1872 the missionaries

¹ They are : Matlale, Botshabelo and Makapaanspoort (established 1865), Pretoria and Lydenburg (1866), Modimolle (Waterberg) and Malokong (1867), Blauwberg (1868), Potchefstroom and Shewase (1872), Shakoma (1874), and Heidelberg (1875).

occupying the most northerly stations in Transvaal, Blauwberg and Mphome, used from time to time to undertake evangelistic tours into the regions bordering on the Limpopo, where as yet no Europeans had settled. In that year, however, with the permission of the Home Committee, the two missionaries Beuster and Stech journeyed to the Bavenda country, and founded the first Berlin station at the kraal of the chief Shewase. Here they commenced their work amidst difficulties and discouragements of the usual type. They had to master an unknown language, to overcome the prejudices and antagonism of an unsympathetic heathenism, to face the danger of an unhealthy climate, to which Beuster's wife fell a victim. Beuster himself was indefatigable in his itinerating and preaching tours, which extended to the very banks of the Limpopo. The work, however, made comparatively slow progress. War and rumours of wars were of constant occurrence, and sadly hindered the orderly development and organisation of missionary operations. The Boer Government found the Bavenda an exceedingly difficult problem to solve, and for many years the policing of the country was beyond its power. Of all native tribes the Bavenda were able to resist Boer rule the longest, and this resistance was only finally overcome when Magato—"the Lion of the North," as he was called—and his successor Mpefu were subjugated by General Joubert. The Bavenda are now being successfully evangelised from three centres, Shewase, Shakoma and Georgenholtz, and the results have been most encouraging.

THE MISSION TO MASIONALAND.

The first offshoot of the Transvaal Mission was the mission to the Bavenda, and the second, that to the Banyai or, as they call themselves, the Vakaranga. Of this tribe, and the attempts to evangelise it, some account has already been given in previous chapters. Among the Berlin missionaries the man who first called attention to the Vakaranga, and dwelt upon the need of commencing a mission among them, was Beuster. On the occasion of his first tour to the Limpopo he had knelt upon its bank, and uttered the fervent prayer that it might please God soon to find labourers for the needy field to the north.

This prayer was answered twelve years later, and Beuster

CHAP. himself was able to accompany the first two missionaries to
 XXXV. the Vakaranga, Meister and Wedepohl, and to see them settled
 at their first station, in the territory of the chief Gutu. This
 section of the mission met from the very first with serious
 adversity. The climate was unhealthy, they possessed as yet
 no proper habitations, European provisions were frequently
 unobtainable, and, owing to their remoteness from their Trans-
 vaal base—more than six weeks by ox-wagon—they were
 practically helpless in times of sickness and prostration.

Messrs. Meister and Wedepohl arrived at Gutu's in August,
 1892, and before the end of the year the younger man had
 delved the graves of both Meister and his wife, who fell victims
 to the dreaded malaria. Wedepohl had in the meantime laid
 the foundation of a second station at Chibe (or as the Germans
 spell it Tshive), which was subsequently occupied by the mis-
 sionaries Neitz and Dietrich. The latter laboured at Chibe
 for nearly five years, and his work was only interrupted by his
 death in 1902. He lies buried at Chibe beside his two children,
 who predeceased him. This station, which is situated in a
 particularly malarious environment, has been unoccupied by
 European workers since Dietrich's death.

A third station in Mashonaland was established by Messrs.
 Klonus and Schwellnus in 1904. This is Zimuto, situated a
 few miles north of the township of Victoria. Here two years
 later Mrs. Klonus died, and Klonus himself was so weakened
 by attacks of blackwater fever that his withdrawal from the
 field became imperative.

In 1907 the Berlin Society transferred its work in Mashona-
 land to the Dutch Reformed Church, the latter paying the
 sum of £1750 for farms, buildings and other immovable assets.
 The evacuation of this field was due partly to straitened finan-
 cial circumstances, and partly to the fact that the two stations
 then effectively occupied, and the small number of missionaries,
 made it undesirable to erect the Mashonaland Mission into a
 separate "Ephoralkreis" or Superintendency, while its attach-
 ment to the North Transvaal Superintendency was also at-
 tended by inconvenience and expense.

In spite of the serious loss of life, and many disappoint-
 ments and set-backs, the work in Mashonaland has been a
 fulfilment of the word of promise: "They that sow in tears

shall reap in joy". The Berlin missionaries sowed: it was given to them to reap sparingly: others are now entering more fully into their labours.

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THE MISSIONS IN THE SOUTH.

The most important work of the Berlin Society within the bounds of the Cape Colony was that at Zoar and Amalienstein. Zoar, it will be remembered, had been taken over from the South African Missionary Society in 1843, for the period of ten years. The Berlin Society, however, feeling that its tenure of Zoar was at best but insecure, purchased an adjoining farm, to which the name of Amalienstein was given. As has been related in the chapter on the South African Society, a dispute arose between that body and the Berlin missionaries about the introduction of a crucifix and other symbols into the Zoar Church, the result of which was that in 1856 the South African Society resumed control. A few years later the latter Society formally made over the station to the Dutch Reformed Church, which, however, only retained possession for five years, and recognising that Zoar and Amalienstein form to all intents and purposes one sphere of work, restored Zoar to the Berlin brethren in 1867, together with the able and energetic missionary J. C. Pauw. Many of the Zoar inhabitants continued to prefer the Reformed to the Lutheran form of worship, and this feeling grew so strong that in 1888 the station was re-transferred to the Dutch Reformed Church, in whose possession it has since then remained. Amid all the vicissitudes of its sister-station, Amalienstein maintained an unchequered existence, and made steady progress under the paternal care and direction of the Berlin missionaries, among whom the name of Superintendent August Schmidt deserves honourable mention. It is to-day the most considerable station of the Berlin Mission within Cape Colony, counting 650 communicants.

Owing to the gradual drain of the coloured people away from the country and towards the towns, the Society found itself under the necessity of commencing operations in several of the larger centres of South-western Cape Colony. Missions were established at Ladismith (1856), Riversdale (1868), Herbertsdale (1872), Mossel Bay (1879), Laingsburg (1884), and finally at Cape Town (1907). An exception to the rule

CHAP. XXXV. of establishing new spheres of work at the chief townships is formed by the station known as Anhalt-Schmidt, which was founded in the Langekloof district, Uniondale, among a number of coloured people who had previously been ministered to by a missionary of the Congregational Church.

The misfortunes which befell the earliest mission stations in Kafraria have been recounted in a previous chapter. Of those founded before 1850 only the earliest station, Bethel, survived the calamities of the Kafir wars, and continues to this day. Three stations were subsequently commenced among the Kafirs—Wartburg, Petersberg and Etembeni. Numerically considered, Kafraria is the smallest of the mission spheres occupied by the Berlin Mission in South Africa. But the influence which this small sphere has exercised by means of its literature is immense. Dr. Kropf's translation of the Bible (1887-89) holds its own as the best and most accurate rendering of the Word of God which the Kafir nation possesses.

For the remaining areas in which the Berlin Society has established itself the barest mention must suffice. Natal possessed but one station of this Society in 1850; there are now seven. The foundation of the Natal Mission, and its steady development especially at Christianenburg, near Durban, is inseparably connected with the name of R. Posselt, the pioneer of the Society's work in Natal. In the Orange Free State and at Kimberley, the Berlin Mission devotes itself to people of various native tribes, using a variety of native languages. Sesuto, Sechuana, Cape Dutch and other dialects are employed at some station or other of this sphere of work. The two stations (in 1850) have now been augmented by the inauguration of five new centres of labour. The missionaries of this field most worthy of mention are Wuras, who for nearly fifty years continued unwearied in his labours at Bethany, and Grützner, the fellow-labourer of Merensky, who gave forty-nine strenuous years to mission work in South Africa, spending twenty-eight of those years at Bethany as successor to the devoted Wuras.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

A HALF-CENTURY OF ANGLICAN MISSIONS.

But thou would'st not *alone*
Be saved, my father! *alone*
Conquer and come to thy goal,
Leaving the rest in the wild. . . .
If in the paths of the world
Stones might have wounded thy feet,
Toil or dejection have tried
Thy spirit, of that we saw
Nothing! to us thou wert still
Cheerful, and helpful, and firm.
Therefore to thee it was given
Many to save with thyself;
And, at the end of the day,
O faithful shepherd! to come,
Bringing thy sheep in thy hand.

MATTHEW ARNOLD ("Rugby Chapel").

THE inception of mission work in South Africa on the part of CHAP.
the Anglican Church was due to the energy of Dr. Robert XXXVI.
Gray, first Bishop of the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena,
who landed at Cape Town early in 1848. After visiting the
greater portion of his immense diocese, which extended from
Cape Town to Natal, and supplying so far as possible the most
urgent needs of the scattered members of the Church, he
directed his attention to mission work among the natives. In
1850 he wrote to the Secretary of the Society for the Propaga-
tion of the Gospel :—

The time has, I believe, arrived when it becomes the duty of the Church in this Diocese to enter upon direct Mission work. Any longer delay on our part would, I think, be an evidence of unfaithfulness to the great trust committed to us. Our internal organisation has been now for nearly two years completed by the addition of the Episcopate. During this period we have been enabled to supply the most crying necessities of our own people. Thirty clergy have been added to the fourteen whom I found on my arrival in the Diocese. Several more indeed are absolutely

CHAP. required, and the work of education, which is forcing itself on our attention, is as yet almost untouched. Yet, notwithstanding this, I repeat, there are circumstances which lead me to feel that we may not any longer, without sin, defer the attempt to found a Mission.¹

It was decided that the first station should be established among Umhala's people, who was chief of the Rarabe clan of the Xosa tribe, and here work was actually commenced in 1854 contemporaneously with the arrival of the first bishop (Armstrong) of the newly established Diocese of Grahamstown.

In 1850 Bishop Gray had already proposed to found ten mission institutions in ten locations which the Government was to mark out for occupation by the natives. Each institution was to be supplied with missionary, teacher, mechanic and agriculturist, and was to be conducted on the lines of the Moravian missionary establishments, for which Gray, as well as his lieutenant in the east, Merriman, had conceived a high opinion. This scheme was partially carried out during Sir George Grey's term of office. That sympathetic Governor, convinced that the best means of keeping the Kafrarian natives in check was the multiplication of missionary agencies, induced the Imperial Government to vote £40,000 per annum during the three years 1855-57 in order to subsidise educational and industrial work among the natives. A portion of this sum was handed over to the Bishop of Grahamstown, and was utilised for the establishment of three more stations in Kafraria similar to that at Umhala's. These four stations were named after the four evangelists, viz., St. Luke's, at Umhala's, thirty miles east of King William's Town; St. Matthew's, at Keiskama Hoek, among a portion of the Fingo tribe; St. Mark's, among the Galekas, under Kreli; and St. John's, among the Gaikas, under Sandili.

The work made but slow progress at the commencement, but after the impoverishment of the tribes consequent on the cattle-killing mania (1857),² a period of gradual but steady expansion was entered upon. Larger numbers attended the preaching of the Word, the schools were filled with pupils, and the roll of Church membership increased daily. In 1871 the second bishop of the Grahamstown diocese, Cotterill, was appointed to the Bishopric of Edinburgh. He succeeded in

¹ "Life of Robert Gray," I, p. 271.

² See above p. 296.

interesting the members of his new diocese to such an extent in missionary operations in South Africa that they undertook to maintain a mission of their own. This action of the Episcopal Church of Scotland made possible the erection of another diocese in South Africa—the Diocese of St. John's, Kafraria—in 1873. The first bishop of this diocese was that remarkable man and Bantu scholar, Henry Callaway, whose "Nursery Tales" and "Religious System of the Amazulu" are models of careful anthropological research.

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The Diocese of Natal (founded 1853) passed through a troublous history. Its first bishop, J. W. Colenso, a great mathematician and a student trained in the modern scientific school, propounded in several published books—notably "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined" (1862)—critical views which were considered dangerous and heretical, though now, after the lapse of fifty years, they are held by many modern students of the Old Testament. He was violently opposed by Bishop Gray, and condemned by the ecclesiastical courts; but the civil courts, on appeal, upheld him, and in spite of his excommunication by the Cape Town Metropolitan, maintained him in his bishopric. When Gray subsequently appointed another bishop (Macrorie) to the see that had been declared vacant, an exceedingly difficult and painful position was created. A section of the Anglican community, though deprecating Colenso's views, nevertheless felt bound to obey the man whom the civil courts had declared to be the legal Bishop of Natal. Others again, recognising Bishop Gray as their metropolitan, professed that they could give their allegiance only to the bishop whom he had duly consecrated and appointed. Bishop Colenso died in 1883, but the unhappy division was perpetuated for some years longer, until the two sections were re-united by Bishop Baynes in 1901, after nearly forty years of dissension.

It was not to be expected that in the heated and controversial atmosphere of Natal, mission work would make the same swift progress as it did in Kafraria. Almost at the outset, indeed, Colenso found himself at variance with the missionaries of other societies on the question of polygamy. The Bishop was of opinion that polygamists of old standing ought not to be debarred from baptism and Church membership,

CHAP. though they should not be eligible for offices in the Church ;
 XXXVI. but to this indulgent view of polygamy the American and Wesleyan missionaries offered strenuous opposition. Though there still are those who occupy Colenso's standpoint, the vast majority of missionaries of almost every society in South Africa are now at one in excluding polygamists from baptism and Church membership, while admitting them (in certain cases) to attendance at the baptism class.

In spite, however, of adverse circumstances, good work was accomplished in the Natal diocese. Educational institutions like St. Alban's College (near Estcourt) were established, from which issued a number of native clergy and catechists, who have done excellent work in Natal and Zululand. Missions were also undertaken among the Indians, who form so large a proportion of the population of Natal. In this connection the name must be mentioned of Dr. Booth, who gave up his practice at Durban in order to devote himself to the evangelisation of the Indians. The European missionaries now labouring in the Indian mission have as colleagues two natives of India who have been ordained priests—the Revs. S. P. Vedamettu and J. Nullathamby.

The year 1863 saw the erection of the Diocese of Bloemfontein. Within the boundaries of this diocese, which included the Orange Free State, Basutoland, Griqualand West, and Bechuanaland, the Anglican Church entered fields that had already been for many years in the occupation of other societies. Philippolis, where work was commenced in 1863, was from the first a field belonging to the London Mission. Thaba Nchu (occupied 1865) was distinctly a Wesleyan sphere of work. Basutoland, which the Anglicans entered in 1876, had been the acknowledged field of the Paris Mission for more than forty years previously. The reasons adduced by Bishop Webb for the entrance upon territory already well occupied and well worked were these : “Basutoland is not yet a Christian country ; besides, your (French Protestant) teaching is incomplete, the doctrine of the apostolical succession is set aside by you, and that of the sacraments is enfeebled”.¹

That the strong views of Bishop Webb were not endorsed by all his fellow-bishops in South Africa is evidenced by the

¹ “Journal des Missions Evangéliques,” 1877, p. 374.

following words of Bishop Callaway in his address to the Synod at Clydesdale :—

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In conclusion, I would just say one word on the existence in this country of other missionaries. Our own position is distinct and well-defined, neither need we have any hesitation in asserting it with becoming meekness and gentleness towards others. At the same time we must allow the principle that wherever we see the fruits of the Spirit we must refer them to the work of the Spirit, and acknowledge, not theoretically only but practically, that from Him and from Him alone proceed “all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works”. On this principle we shall be able to rejoice at any good work done, though not done by ourselves, and outside our own Church, and it may be even in ways we do not think desirable, and of which we cannot approve.¹

It is also just to say that Canon Widdicombe, the pioneer of the Anglican Mission to Basutoland, laid down, *inter alia*, the following rules for his guidance :—

To respect the labours of those missionaries already in the country, who, in the present divided state of Christendom, are unhappily not in communion with our branch of the Church Catholic.

Not to receive into the communion of the Church, should they desire to enter it, Christians of other religious bodies under censure for evil conduct, or any whose motives for wishing to unite with us were not, as far as could be judged, pure and above reproach.²

These are sound and Christian principles, which, if duly carried out by Societies and Churches in their relations to one another, would contribute not a little towards harmonious and hearty co-operation on the part of the various missionary bodies for the progress of the Kingdom of God. On the other hand, the presence of two or more competing societies in the same field has an unsettling effect upon the native mind. Besides the very real danger of an undue relaxation of Church discipline, there is presented to the heathen onlooker the spectacle of two Churches professing the same faith and inculcating the same doctrines, and yet occupying towards each other an attitude of aloofness, if not of absolute antagonism.

Mr. James Anthony Froude, the historian, who visited Thaba Nchu in 1874—nine years after the entrance of the Anglicans—thus describes the position :—

¹ “Henry Callaway,” p. 284; also Carlyle: “South African Mission Fields,” p. 164.

² Widdicombe: “Fourteen Years in Basutoland,” p. 75.

CHAP. At four o'clock we reached our destination, and drove to the Wesleyan
 XXXVI. Missionary Station, a long straggling house with a chapel and schoolroom attached. Across a ravine stands the new Anglican monastery. Between the station and the monks there is little or no communication. . . .

Two of the princes [read *chief's sons*] are Christians, and are anxious for their father's conversion. But he sticks to his heathenism. "My sons," he says, "want me to be baptised. I say to them, Christians here," pointing to the Wesleyan station, "and Christians there," pointing to the Anglican monks. "Christians there won't speak to Christians here. When one of them has converted the other it will be time to come to me."¹

The Bishopric of Zululand grew out of the Mackenzie Memorial Mission, in memory of Bishop Charles Mackenzie of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, who for a time laboured in Natal. The chief centres of missionary influence in Zululand are St. Augustine's Mission at Rorke's Drift and the Mackenzie Memorial College at Isandhlwana—both places famed for the battles fought there during the Zulu War in 1879.

In the Diocese of Pretoria (erected in 1877) mission work is largely in the hands of the Community of the Resurrection, while on the other hand certain sisterhoods (the Wantage and East Grinstead Sisters) undertake a measure of educational work. Mashonaland was created a separate diocese by the consecration of Bishop Knight-Bruce in 1891. The chief centre of missionary activity is at Penhalonga, where there are industrial schools for native boys and girls. In addition to these, there exist a number of out-stations both in Mashonaland and in Matabeleland.

Finally, the Bishopric of Lebombo—consisting of the Delagoa Bay and Inhambane districts, with a section of Eastern Transvaal—was constituted by the consecration of Bishop Smyth in 1893. At St. Christopher's College (founded 1903) native students are trained for the ministry. In spite of the well-known insalubriousness of the climate along the eastern sea-board, the mission here, under the wise guidance and inspiring example of Bishop Smyth has made excellent, if not wholly exceptional, progress.

An event of more than ordinary interest and importance in the history of Anglican missions in South Africa was the incorporation (1900) of the "Order of Ethiopia" into the Church

¹ Froude: "Short Studies on Great Subjects," Vol. III, pp. 545, 547.

of England. The story of the negotiations and discussions which preceded and led up to the decision to accept the Ethiopians as a separate order, must be relegated to an appendix in which the whole history of the Ethiopian movement falls to be briefly traced.¹

CHAP.
XXXVI.

In summing up the position and influence of Anglican missions in South Africa, it must be premised that the Anglicans, like the Wesleyans, draw no distinction between their European and their native membership. It is to be clearly understood that bishops and clergy in the various dioceses labour indifferently among white and coloured and black. Where the various races are mixed, as in the large towns and cities, it is difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle white statistics from black and coloured. On the other hand, in dioceses like Zululand and Lebombo it may be confidently assumed that the figures stand, almost exclusively, for native converts and adherents.

A notable feature in the missions of the Church of England is the prominence given to educational work. Beginning with the Zonnebloem Native College in Cape Town (founded 1858), we find every diocese supplied with its schools and training institutes. The education imparted at these institutions follows strictly Anglican lines, and in consequence the number of students of other denominations is small in comparison with that of undenominational schools like Lovedale and Morija; but a regular and sufficient supply of native catechists and clergy is thus secured, and the gradual and steady expansion of the mission facilitated. The Anglican and Wesleyan Churches, affirming as they do the principle that no distinction should be made between European and native clergy, between white and black congregations, are easily first among the missionary agencies in South Africa in the number of their native ministers and helpers.²

¹ See Appendix, *Note Y*.

² "It is perhaps in the training of native clergy that Umtata has made itself most conspicuous. A third of the whole number in the province [of South Africa] are to be found in this diocese; and one, Canon Masiza, who lately passed to his rest, proved conclusively that it is possible for a native to minister to colonial [=European] congregations, and to be loved and respected by those not of his own colour."—Baynes: "South Africa" (*Handbooks of English Church Expansion*), p. 129.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

LOVEDALE AND THE SCOTTISH MISSIONS.

The true art of the missionary, as it seems to me—an outsider, the most lay of laymen, and for that reason, on the old principle that the bystander sees most of the game, perhaps more than usually well able to judge—is to profit by the vast amount of moral force reservoired in every race, and to expand and fit that power to new ideas and to new possibilities of advancement.—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

CHAP. AFTER the close of the war of 1851-52, referred to in a previous XXXVII. chapter, Lovedale entered upon a period of steady expansion. Thirty acres of ground were added to the station by a Government grant, and that wise and beneficent administrator, Sir George Grey, encouraged by every means in his power the development of this and other missionary institutions. With the large grants which the Governor's generous policy secured to them, the Lovedale missionaries were enabled to erect buildings for industrial work. Carpentry, masonry, wagon-making and blacksmithing departments were thus established, and instruction in those trades was imparted to a steadily increasing number of apprentices.

A section of the institution's work that has been of incalculable benefit to the whole mission, and to adjoining missions also, is the printing department. Papers, periodicals, tracts and portions of Scripture have issued in a stream of increasing volume from the Lovedale Press. One of the most important works published at Lovedale was "The Pilgrim's Progress," translated into fluent and idiomatic Kafir (Xosa) by Tiyo Soga.

An important event in the history of Lovedale was the visit of Dr. Alexander Duff of India in 1864, and his observations and suggestions imparted to the work an impulse whose effect is even yet felt. He was strongly impressed with the possibilities of Lovedale, and with the necessity of making it, to an even greater extent than it already was, a centre for

educational and industrial effort. At his instance the Free Church Mission Committee decided to send out James Stewart for the Lovedale work—a name which since then has been inseparably connected with the fortunes and growth of the institution.

Dr. James Stewart has passed through courses of training both in theology and in medicine, and in 1862 had acted as pioneer of the Free Church mission to Nyasaland. After completing his medical course at Glasgow, he reached South Africa in 1867, where he laboured with only one break for the next forty years. Stewart soon found himself at variance with the ideals which Govan cherished regarding Lovedale, and the Home Committee upholding Stewart's views, the older missionary felt it incumbent upon him to withdraw from the field, which he did in 1870. His retirement was deeply regretted, as it signified the loss of an experienced, conscientious and devoted labourer.

The reforms introduced by Stewart aimed at broadening the basis of instruction, and making it more suitable to the needs of the natives. Their efficacy soon became manifest, for during the years 1870 to 1874 the numbers receiving instruction rose from 92 to 480, and by the introduction of the fee-system £1300 per annum was added to the institution's annual income.¹

The important educational centre of Blythswood was established upon the same lines as Lovedale in 1877. Lovedale was looked upon by the natives as an institution for the more southerly Kafir tribes, though in reality it has always been accessible to students from every tribe and from all parts of South Africa. The Fingoes, at all events, dwelling farther north, asked why they could not have a similar institution in the territory beyond the Kei for the education of their own sons and daughters. The magistrate of the Transkei, Captain Blyth, transmitted this request to Dr. Stewart. The answer was: "What are the Fingoes willing to contribute? Are they ready to subscribe £1000?"—for those days an unheard-of

¹ In the Lovedale "Report" for 1909 it is shown that during the forty years, 1870-1909, an aggregate sum of £93,671 was received as fees from native students, the highest amount for any single year being £5,503 for 1907.

CHAP. sum. Three months later Captain Blyth reported: "The XXXVII. money is ready".

A day was fixed; an immense crowd of natives gathered together; upon an open space of ground was placed a small deal table, and one after the other each individual of that great concourse laid his gift upon it. When the silver was counted, it was found to amount to £1450. Speeches were then delivered, and one eloquent native in the course of his address said, pointing to the great heap of coins: "There are the stones; now build". On two subsequent occasions this meeting was repeated, and the Fingoes thus evidenced their earnestness in the matter of education by the gift of the immense sum of £4500. In such manner, with such enthusiasm, was commenced the institution called (after the sympathetic magistrate who played so important a part in maturing the scheme) Blythswood. The buildings which now adorn the station represent, according to Mr. Stormont, the present principal, a total outlay of £20,000, the surplus of this amount over the original contribution of the natives having been found by the United Free Church, aided to a small extent by grants from the Cape Government.

The Free Church Mission underwent considerable expansion in 1868, when a station was established at Toleni, in the Transkei, and called Cunningham, in honour of the then Principal of New College, Edinburgh. This station was for many years faithfully served by Richard Ross, a son of the first Ross. A second station in the Transkei, Idutywa, was placed under the competent charge of James G. Robertson. Meanwhile the native congregation at Lovedale, pastorless through Robertson's removal, met to call a minister, when the choice fell upon a native probationer, Mpambani J. Mzimba, who was accordingly ordained and inducted to the vacant pastorate. His later career is described under the account given of the Ethiopian movement.¹

The United Presbyterian Church had also been prosecuting mission work in vigorous fashion, and always in closest co-operation with the Free Church. At their station Emgwali that remarkable man Tiyo Soga laboured for many years.

¹ See Appendix, Note Y.

Both for deep spirituality and for intellectual ability Soga is CHAP.
undoubtedly the most eminent native that South Africa has XXXVII.
as yet produced. He was born the son of a polygamist, his father being one of the councillors of Chief Gaika. His mother, however, was a Christian, and she encouraged her son to attend the local mission school, from which he was subsequently sent by Chalmers to the Lovedale Institution. When the War of the Axe broke out, and the work at Lovedale was in consequence suspended, Principal Govan decided to take young Soga, then 17 years old, with him to Scotland. Here the latter remained for two years, and then, in 1849, he returned to South Africa in the capacity of catechist. But war again interrupted his work, and the proposal was then made that he should revisit Scotland, and prepare himself for the ministry. Acting upon it, he entered the United Presbyterian Hall at Edinburgh in 1852, and received ordination four years later,—perhaps the first of his race to be thus ordained. In 1857 he married a Scotch wife, sailed for South Africa, and opened a mission on the Emgwali River. Here he toiled with the greatest devotion and a marked measure of success until 1868, when he was charged with the commencement of a new station among Kreli's people at the Tutuka. He was, however, already broken in health. His exposure for several years to the rigours of the European winters had weakened his constitution, and was destined to shorten his life. He continued at Tutuka to perform his duties with heroic perseverance, even though suffering extreme prostration, until he entered into rest in August, 1871, at the early age of 42. Two of Soga's sons are following in their father's footsteps as missionaries, one of them, Dr. Soga, being a medical missionary.

New fields were entered at the initiative of James Macdonald, who had been for some years in charge of the Blythswood establishment. Through his instrumentality stations were opened among the Galekas, and in East Griqualand—the latter being the so-called Buchanan Mission. The stations in Natal—at Maritzburg, Impolweni, Kalabasi and Umsinga—also deserve mention. At the last named the Gordon Memorial Mission has been established. This mission was undertaken in memory of the Hon. J. H. H. Gordon, brother of the present Lord Aberdeen, who after his conversion de-

CHAP. cided to devote his life to mission work. While studying at
XXXVII. Cambridge his life was cut short by the accidental discharge
of a rifle; and the members of his sorrowing family there-
upon decided to found a mission in memory of their deceased
brother. In this manner the Gordon Memorial Mission,
started under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland,
came to establish itself in the Greytown district of Natal.
Under the direction of Dr. Dalzell the mission gradually over-
came the hindrances and difficulties of its early years, and has
exercised a beneficent influence over the whole district, and
far across the Zululand border as well.

The real value of the Scottish missions in South Africa lies
not so much in the extent of territory which they cover, or the
number of stations and out-stations which they count—though
these are by no means inconsiderable—as in the widespread
influence wielded by their educational establishments. Lovedale,
Blythswood, Emgwali are names that stand out as
landmarks in the history of educational mission work in South
Africa. Of Lovedale this is true in an especial degree. Its
students are found all over South Africa, filling various posi-
tions of trust and responsibility, as native ministers, catechists,
teachers, tradesmen, farmers, interpreters, clerks, employees and
servants.

The present principal of Lovedale, Rev. James Henderson,
says :—

The circumstances of the Institution from the outstart made for
greatness. The presence of European pupils postulated well-trained
teachers. It became the principal high school—for long it was the only
one—in that part of the country. It was the centre of a great and suc-
cessful missionary movement. It inevitably attracted to itself men of force
with an outlook upon the future. . . . His [Dr. Stewart's] aim was to
bring the native people into line with the European occupants of the same
land, and he realised that the basal necessity on the part of those that
would uplift them was respect for them. He believed that they were
capable of high attainments, and he made it his business to bring the best
and highest influences, outward and inward, to bear upon them. Time is,
of course, vindicating his faith. . . . The Institution, under the hand of
God, has the promise of a future even greater than its past.¹

Stewart died in 1905 without having seen the realisation of
his ideal of “bringing the native population into line with the

¹ Wells: “Stewart of Lovedale,” p. 406 *seqq.*

European occupants of the land". It is probably not an ideal that can be realised under present conditions. The standard set by Stewart was a high one, and his educational aims were largely inspired by the magnificent enterprises of Dr. Duff in India. But it may be questioned whether the purely missionary and evangelistic labours were not too greatly overshadowed, in both cases, by the educational. Christianity must precede civilisation ; education is in no sense a substitute for conversion. Time will doubtless vindicate Stewart's confidence in the native, but whether time will vindicate the wisdom of all his methods remains to be seen.

The influence of Lovedale, nevertheless, continues and increases. In certain directions it has done for the native what no other institution has done, or even attempted. It has awakened hopes and kindled ambitions in the soul of the native, many of which must necessarily die out, but some of which will certainly come to fruition ; and therefore we may sincerely echo the prayer that, under the hand of God, the promise of its future may be even greater than the performance of its past.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

Praise to the Holiest in the height,
And in the depth be praise:
In all His words most wonderful;
Most sure in all His ways !

Woe to thee, man ! for he was found
A recreant in the fight ;
And lost his heritage of heaven,
And fellowship with light.

He dreded his penance age by age;
And step by step began
Slowly to doff his savage garb,
And be again a man.

And quickened by the Almighty's breath
And chastened by His rod,
And taught by angel-visittings,
At length he sought his God :

And learned to call upon His name,
And in His faith create
A household and a fatherland,
A city and a state.

Glory to Him who from the mire,
In patient length of days,
Elaborated into life
A people to His praise.

J. H. NEWMAN ("The Dream of Gerontius").

CHAP. THE Roman Catholic Church was late in making its appearance in South Africa. During the Dutch *régime*, as we have seen in former chapters, no religion but the Dutch Reformed was tolerated. In 1685 six Jesuit Fathers visited the Cape on their way to Siam, and remained some weeks in order to take astronomical observations. They were exceedingly well received by Governor van der Stel, but were not allowed to celebrate mass or in other ways minister to their fellow-Catholics. Father Tachard, who was one of the party,

describes their reception by the Cape Catholics in the following words :— CHAP.
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No sooner had we got possession of our little Observatory, but the Catholicks of that Colony, who are pretty numerous, had notice of it, and were thereat exceedingly rejoiced. In the Mornings and Evenings they came privately to us. . . . They who could no otherwise express themselves, because we understood not their Language, fell upon their Knees and kissed our hands. They pulled Chaplets and Medals out of their Bosoms to show that they were Catholicks, they wept and smote their Breasts. That Language of the Heart, much more touching than words, wrought great Compassion in us, and obliged us to embrace those poor People, whom Christian Charity made us look upon as our Brethren. We comforted them the best we could, exhorting them to persevere in the Faith of Jesus Christ, humbly and faithfully to serve their Masters, and to bear their troubles with Patience. We commended it to them particularly that they would examine their Consciences at night, and honour the Holy Virgin, who was ablest to procure them more Grace to live Christianly, and to keep them from Heresie. They who spoke French, Latin, Spanish or Portuguese were confessed. We visited the Sick in their Houses and in the Hospital. This was all that could be done for their Consolation in so short a time, they not having the Liberty to come on board of us and hear Mass, nor we to say it to them a Shoar.¹

The first Roman Catholic priests who obtained permission to settle at the Cape arrived in October, 1805. In the previous year Commissary-General de Mist had promulgated an ordinance which secured full liberty of conscience to each individual in the country, and the Batavian authorities accordingly sent out from Holland the Catholic chaplains Jacobus Nelissen and Johannes Lansink, together with the lay brother Lambertus Prinsen, to minister to the religious needs of the soldiers holding their creed.

The three priests thus stationed in Cape Town at the instance of the Batavian Government were at the reconquest of the Cape required to leave the country by the English Governor, Sir David Baird. It was not until 1820 that a regular Catholic clergyman—Rev. P. Scully—was placed in charge of the Cape. A church was speedily erected, a grant of £100 per annum from the Government secured, and in 1837 the Cape of Good Hope was duly constituted an independent Vicariate, with Patrick R. Griffith as first Vicar-apostolic.

¹ "A Relation of the Voyage to Siam, Performed by Six Jesuits" (1688), p. 61.

CHAP. For many years nothing was done, nothing indeed could be
 XXXVIII. done, for native missions: the Catholic priests were acting
 upon the instructions of Pope Pius IX—"Attend first to the
 wants of the children of the household of the faith. When the
 wants of this portion of your flock have been provided for, then
 turn your attention to the native population." By 1850 three
 vicariates had been established—the Western Vicariate, under
 Bishop Griffith; the Eastern Vicariate, under Bishop Devereux;
 and the Natal Vicariate, under Bishop Allard. These have
 now increased in number to six vicariates and three apostolic
 prefectures.

In the case of the Roman Catholic Church it is exceptionally difficult to differentiate between work among Europeans and missions to natives. No separate statistics are provided. Mission work, in the sense in which the term is used by Protestant Churches and Societies, is unknown in the Roman Church. Their mission undertakings aim at the extension of the Catholic Church; their efforts are all *pro propaganda fide*—for the propagation of the (Roman Catholic) Faith.¹ Nevertheless, if we visit in rotation the fields of work where the native element is distinctly and emphatically predominant, we can, without going far astray, obtain some idea of the work of the Roman Catholics on behalf of the native races of South Africa.

German South-west Africa—with the exception of its most southerly portion—forms a prefecture to which the name of Cimbebasia Inferior (Lower Cimbebasia) has been given. Here three *patres*—Duparquet, Hogan and Griffin—attempted to settle in 1878, but the opposition of Chaherani, Chief of Omaruru, compelled them to beat a retreat. The attempt to found a Catholic mission among the Herero was not renewed until 1896, when the Oblates of Mary Immaculate entered the field. German authority had by this time been established over the country, and Governor Leutwein, while permitting the Catholic priests to engage in mission work, stipulated that they should keep at a due distance from centres already effectively occupied by the Rhenish Mission. This limitation was, however, finally removed in 1905, when by imperial orders in council religious freedom and tolerance were guaranteed to all creeds and denominations.

¹ See Appendix, Note Z.

The Catholics have ten stations in Damaraland, and three in Great Namaqualand, which is the field of the Oblates of St. Francis of Sales. There are employed, in both fields, twenty-five priests, eighteen lay brothers and twenty-one sisters. The number of native converts belonging to this prefecture is small. The figures given by the "Missiones Catholicae" for 1907 are: Catholics 970, viz. 800 Europeans and 170 natives.¹ "Both Evangelical and Catholic Missions," says Külz, "have accomplished a great bit of work in this country; and not merely a great bit of work but a thorough bit of work."²

To pass now to the Cape,—the establishment of the Western and Eastern Vicariates has been already chronicled. By the time the prior part of Pope Pius IX's directions had been carried out, and the wants of "the children of the household of the faith" had been attended to, the second half of the nineteenth century was already well advanced. Of mission work, properly so called, there had thus far been no sign. Even when Bishop Ricards (Eastern Vicariate) wrote his appeal, "The Catholic Church and the Kaffir," in 1879, no mission operations were in progress within the bounds of either of these vicariates. Reflecting upon the Pope's instructions, Ricards wrote in that year :—

Considering the number of Catholics in the vicariate, and what has been done to provide for their religious wants, it will be seen that the time is come at last when it becomes a positive duty, on the part of the Bishop, to do the best he can for the spiritual welfare of the 200,000 Kafirs who are included in the boundaries of the vicariate (p. 8).

Ricards' plan was to establish in some native centre a settlement of the Trappists, whose industrial missions in North Africa had proved so signal a success. "A community of this order established amongst the Abatembu Kafirs will be attended with most encouraging results. The material prosperity and ever-growing beauty of a large model farm, like that which gladdens the eye of the traveller in Algeria—where, since 1843, the Trappists have been labouring with marvellous success—will exercise a powerful influence for good."³

For the sum of £5000 Ricards purchased a tract of land

¹ Op. cit., p. 395.

² "Deutsch Süd-Afrika," p. 227.

³ Ricards, op. cit., p. 50. For an account of the Trappist Order, see Appendix, Note AA.

CHAP. lying on both sides of the Sunday River, not far from Port XXXVIII. Elizabeth, and here were stationed thirty-one brethren of the Trappist Order, under the charge of their Prior, Franz Pfanner. For two years they toiled manfully at Dunbrody—so the farm had been named—but the barren soil failed to yield its increase, and in 1882 the community took ship for Natal, to try their agricultural fortunes in a warmer climate and upon a richer soil. Not far from the station Pinetown, on the Durban-Maritzburg railway, they selected and purchased a suitable site, and here the Monastery of Mariannhill was founded. At the present time this monastery, with its fine church and campanile (116 feet high), its industrial schools, hospital and magnificent gateway (surmounted by the motto of the order, *Ora et labora*), is one of the sights of the South African mission field.

The establishment of Mariannhill was precursor to the foundation of a number of other missions at places which received the names of Reichenau, Einsiedeln, Kevelaer, Blitzberg (Mariathal), Lourdes, Centocow, and others. Including Mariannhill, the Trappists now labour at twenty-two centres in Natal and East Griqualand, while in addition to these they possess a large number of out-stations. Their labours may be looked upon as mission work pure and simple. All the schools which they have established—more than 100 in number—exist primarily for the instruction of native children.

In 1885 the General of the Trappist Order promoted Mariannhill to be an abbey, and Father Pfanner, its founder, was unanimously elected by the monks as their first abbot. In 1894 he was succeeded by Abbot Scholzig. The present head of the community is Abbot Wolpert. Ecclesiastically the missions of the Trappist monks fall under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Natal, but they are looked upon as a separate agency, and the statistics of the missions are never confused with those of the Natal Vicariate.

The latter vicariate, established in 1850, includes Natal, Zululand and the Kafrarian district of the Cape. Its first bishop, Dr. Allard, landed at Durban in 1852, up to which time Natal had been without a resident priest. In 1874 Allard was succeeded in the episcopate by Charles Jolivet, whose career as Vicar-apostolic lasted nearly thirty years, and witnessed a great extension of Roman Catholicism, not in Natal

merely, but also in the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and CHAP.
Basutoland. XXXVIII.

In Basutoland the first Roman Catholic mission station was established by Allard, who in 1862 obtained leave from Moshesh to found a mission in the vicinity of Thaba Bosiu. The natives bestowed upon the new mission station the name of *Motsi va Ma-Jesu*—"the village of the Mother of Jesus"—but Protestants called it simply Roma, which latter name it has retained. In 1894 Basutoland was eliminated from the Natal Vicariate and raised into a prefecture, with Julius Cenez as Prefect-apostolic. This mission may be described, like that of the Trappists, as almost exclusively a native mission. Work is carried on at nine stations and a number of out-stations. Of priests (Oblates of Mary Immaculate) and lay brothers there are twenty-five; and of nuns (European and native) fifty-one. The number of native adherents is about 11,000, and 2000 are under instruction.

The Orange River Vicariate was created in 1898, and includes Little (British) Namaqualand, the district of Calvinia, and part of Great Namaqualand. The nucleus of the work in this vicariate was the mission station Pella, which belonged successively to the London and the Rhenish Societies. The latter Society relinquished its occupation of Pella in 1869, and vagrant Bushmen were its only inhabitants until 1873, when, at the invitation of the Cape Government, the Roman Catholics took over the deserted station. The first to settle there were the Fathers of the African Mission of Lyons, but in 1882 the work was transferred to the Oblates of St. Francis of Sales. Pella is now adorned with a church—a magnificent building, erected entirely by the Oblate Fathers—which was consecrated by Bishop Rooney in 1895.

In the Kimberley and Transvaal Vicariates (the former including the whole of the Orange Free State) no distinctively mission operations are carried on, the Roman Catholic Church having its spheres of work in and around the more important townships. But when we pass northward to the prefecture of Rhodesia, we are again in contact with native missions. In 1879 the limits of the Zambesi Mission were determined, and its care entrusted to the Jesuit Fathers, whose early attempts at mission work in South-east Africa had been long discontinued.

CHAP. XXXVIII. The first superior was Father H. Depelchin, who made his way to the capital of the Barotsi, and obtained Robosi's (Lewanika's) permission to commence a mission among his people. In 1880 Father Burghergge proceeded up the Zambezi to inaugurate the new undertaking, accompanied by two lay brothers, one of whom was unfortunately drowned. The missionaries were not able to speak the language, misunderstandings arose between them and some of the chiefs, Robosi himself was avaricious and exacting, and after a stay of only seven months the two missionaries were forced to leave the country. They then withdrew to Panda-ma-tenka (Pamatenga), where they were joined by other members of the Society. Coillard, who received many kindnesses at their hands, thus describes their station :—

The Jesuits have established themselves very well here : they have a chapel, a simple but cosy little house, huts and sheds for storehouses, a fine poultry yard, and a pretty garden. It is a little village that would be prosperous as a mission station if there were any evangelisation to be done here. But what can they do when there is no population ? A few wagon-drivers and servants may chance to travel by with their employers, and these gentlemen catch them on the wing ; but this does not amount to much, for they are few and far between.

What I do admire about the Jesuits is the completeness of their staff. They have a gardener, cook, steward, carpenter, etc. It is the "Brothers" who are entrusted with the material things of the establishment : the Fathers will concern themselves with the spiritual when occasion offers. . . . The staff of this mission has had a series of disasters. Out of seven members, one died by a fall from his horse, two were drowned, two died of hunger and fatigue, another of consumption, the seventh of fever among the Batoka, and some believed that he had been poisoned.¹

Their failure to gain a foothold among the Barotsi, and the serious losses which they had sustained, forced the Jesuit Fathers to withdraw after more than five years of isolation at Panda-ma-tenka. They are now established at various centres in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, the most important native mission work being done at Empandeni (near Plumtree) and at Chishawasha (near Salisbury). The missions of the Jesuit Fathers on the Zambezi at Shupanga, and beyond it at Chinkuni, North-west Rhodesia, may also be briefly referred to, though lying in part outside the scope of this history.

¹Coillard: "On the Threshold of Central Africa," pp. 132-3.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE HERMANNSBURG AND HANOVERIAN MISSIONS.

I had knocked at men's doors and found them shut ; and yet the plan was manifestly good and for the glory of God. What was to be done ? "Straight-forward makes the best runner." I prayed fervently to the Lord, laid the matter in His hand, and as I rose up at midnight from my knees, I said in a voice that almost startled me in the quiet room, "*Forward now, in God's name !*"—PASTOR HARMS.

THE HERMANNSBURG MISSION.

THE Hermannsburg Mission owed its inception to a man of great faith and evangelical fervour, Pastor Ludwig Harms (1808-65), who was the son of a clergyman of the Lutheran Church stationed at Hermannsburg in Hanover. In 1844 young Harms was ordained a minister, becoming at first assistant and subsequently successor to his father. During the revolutionary year 1848 he preached and laboured with great earnestness, and a remarkable revival broke out among the simple peasants who formed the majority of his congregation. Himself imbued with the missionary spirit, Harms urged upon all who came to conversion under his ministrations to devote themselves to the service of God and to labour for the extension of His Kingdom. The response of his flock was hearty and complete, and Harms in 1849 established a missionary society which became known as "Die Hermannsburger Mission".

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From the very commencement Harms left upon the Hermannsburg Society the impress of his own personality. He was ardently attached to the Lutheran Church, and could anticipate no satisfactory results where the missionary society was not bound by indissoluble ties to the Church by which it had been founded. In his estimation the Church built up among the heathen should be in every respect—in doctrine, in

CHAP. liturgy, in discipline, in Church organisation—the counterpart XXXIX. of the Church at home. Closely allied with this conception was the idea, borrowed of the Middle Ages, that the Christianisation of the world would be most efficiently and expeditiously effected by sending out colonies of missionaries, in order thoroughly to leaven the whole environment in which they settled. Among the members of this colony a sort of democratic socialism was to be introduced: all the labourers in the mission, whether clergy or laity, were to stand upon an absolutely equal footing, and perfect community of property was to obtain among them.

It was intended to establish the first of these colonies among the Gallas in East Africa. Funds were quickly subscribed for the new undertaking. The mission ship "Candace" was launched at Hamburg, and twelve of Harms' pupils, together with eight colonists, were despatched to the field which had been selected. The effort to settle among the Gallas, however, proved fruitless; and the vessel returned to Natal, where the party disembarked and proceeded to found (1854) their first station, which they called Hermannsburg. It is situated a few miles east of the village of Greytown, in Umvoti County (Natal).

THE ZULU MISSION.

Within ten years of the commencement of the Natal-Zulu Mission eight stations had been occupied in Central Natal. For the establishment of these stations a number of farms had been acquired, and on these natives were allowed to settle, it being the intention of the missionaries to impart to them Gospel instruction, and to train them to habits of industry. This object was but partially attained. It was found to be a matter of extreme difficulty to persuade the natives to attend Divine service, send their children to school, or pay the annual fee for settling on mission land. Greater success was attained with the training school at which young natives were qualified for work as teachers and evangelists. To this institution pupils came in considerable numbers from all parts of the Hermannsburg field.

The attempts at colonisation were largely unsuccessful. The principle of community of property created so much friction that it had soon to be repudiated. Into the Bechuana field,

which was subsequently occupied, it was not even introduced. The spiritual and material interests of the mission often clashed, and the rule of equality between the missionary and the colonist could not be maintained. These initial difficulties proved to be a serious trial to the faith and forbearance of the earliest missionaries. In course of time, however, the chief causes of friction were removed, and the Zulu section of the mission entered upon a period of prosperity and spiritual fruitage.

THE BECHUANA MISSION.

The mission to the Bechuana was undertaken at the direct request of the Boer Government. After the destruction of Kolobeng, which has been described in Chapter XXV, Secheli, the Bakwena chieftain, applied to the Transvaal Volksraad for a missionary to replace Dr. Livingstone, who had commenced his famous exploratory journeys into the mysterious heart of the continent. President Pretorius thereupon addressed a request, dated 9 April, 1857, to the nearest Moravian mission, to supply Secheli and his people with a missionary. This the Moravians were unable to do, and Pretorius then approached the Hermannsburg authorities, who felt this to be a Divine call to enter a new field, and undertook the work. The pioneer of the mission among the Bakwena was Christopher Schulenburg, who in 1858 laid the foundation of the station Liteyane (Shoshong). For a time the work here prospered exceedingly. Secheli himself accorded the missionary his hearty support; the services were well attended, and many began to seek in earnest the salvation of their souls; the school was filled with scholars, all eager for instruction in biblical and general knowledge. Among those whom Schulenburg was permitted to baptise was Khamá, who in later years became the well-known Christian chief of the Bamangwato. All things promised well in the new sphere of labour.

But the fair morning was soon overcast with dark and lowering clouds. In 1860 August Hardeland, who had done excellent work as missionary in Borneo, was appointed Superintendent of the South African field. He was a man of immense energy and initiative, but, apparently, deficient in tact and forbearance. Schulenburg and his fellow-missionaries in Western Transvaal had received no official notification of

CHAP. XXXIX. Hardeland's appointment; they naturally resented the somewhat high-handed way in which the latter had set to work and did not accord him that prompt obedience which was his due; and Hardeland accordingly took the extreme step of dismissing them.

While these unhappy bickerings were in progress, and during one of the absences of Schulenburg, John Mackenzie arrived in Secheli's country and settled at Shoshong. When the Hermannsburg missionary was able to return, he found his brother of the London Mission in possession, and could hardly do otherwise than accept his co-operation. The missionaries of the two societies shared the services on Sundays, and worked side by side in the school during the week. In their doctrinal instruction they imparted only the truths upon which they agreed, and were honourably silent about those on which they differed. Superintendent Hardeland, however, severely censured Schulenburg's conduct, and made the compromising attitude which he had adopted towards the London Society one of the reasons for his recall. The Bakwena field was accordingly left in the hands of Mackenzie and his colleagues.

Hardeland returned to Germany in 1864, and his successor as Superintendent for Western Transvaal, H. Wilhelm Behrens, made strenuous efforts to recover the lost field among the Bakwena, but in vain. The territory of the Hermannsburg Mission was henceforth confined to Transvaal proper, where a chain of stations was established, stretching from Pretoria, the capital, to the western border. The chief station of this field was Bethany, some twenty miles west of Pretoria. An interesting history attaches to the commencement of missionary operations among the Bakwena of that district. Many years previously a youth belonging to this tribe had found his way to the Cape Colony in search of work and wealth. He had there met with a Wesleyan missionary, through whose instruction he had found Christ, and by whom he was baptised as David. For a time the young Christian continued to live and work among white men, but the desire to carry the good tidings of salvation to his own people gradually gathered strength. At length he severed his connection with his European master, and returned to his home in the Transvaal. With great earnestness and devotion he here gave himself to the work

of witnessing for Christ. Nor were his labours without avail. The people of his tribe learnt to observe the Sabbath, to attend Divine worship, to read the Word of God and offer prayer, and not a few became faithful followers of Christ.

CHAP.
XXXIX.

The chief of the tribe now felt it to be an urgent necessity that he should obtain a white missionary to consolidate and extend the work which David's zeal and earnestness had inaugurated. The Hermannsburg Society was accordingly invited to settle among them, and the result was the establishment of Bethany,—the most prosperous, possibly, of all the stations of this Society. Great was the joy of the little community of Christians when Behrens arrived to devote his life to work in their midst. He was welcomed with tears of joy. "Behold (they cried) God has remembered us in His mercy. O happy day!" But the greatest joy was that of David, the faithful witness and untiring worker. By the advent of the missionaries the keystone was placed upon the archway which he had been erecting at the cost of such long toil and so many prayers. To David's sterling character more than one of the Dutch farmers bore witness in words such as these : "If all natives were like old David, there would be fewer objections to mission work. His humility and large-heartedness are beyond all praise."

In addition to Bethany, several other stations were erected in Western Transvaal during the years 1864 and 1865. Much greater prosperity attended the work in Transvaal than that among the Zulus. In the latter field no large and bold scheme for occupying a goodly area was adopted ; and the result was that the mission soon found itself hemmed in, and to a considerable degree hampered, by the presence of other societies. In the Transvaal, on the other hand, the mission entered upon an extensive and unoccupied field, with no other societies in the immediate neighbourhood. To the east lay the sphere belonging to the Berlin Mission, with which, as a Lutheran society, the Hermannsburgers stood upon an exceedingly friendly footing. In the immediate north, in the Pilaansbergen, the Dutch Reformed Church had established itself among the Bakhatla ; but as the bulk of this tribe soon after moved farther towards the north, and eventually settled beyond the Marico River, the latter mission could be guilty of no encroachment upon Hermannsburger territory. Taken as a whole the

CHAP. Bechuana Mission was "a cup of joy which the Lord graciously
XXXIX. filled for His faithful servant Ludwig Harms, for the mission-
aries, and for the whole mission community at home."¹

THE HANOVERIAN FREE CHURCH MISSION.

This mission must be looked upon as an offshoot of the Hermannsburg Mission. In order to understand the relation which subsists between both, it is necessary to go back to the history of Ludwig Harms. The pious founder of the Hermannsburg Society died in 1865 and was succeeded as Director by his like-minded brother, Theodore Harms. The latter, though Director of the Mission, was at the same time a minister of the State Church of Hanover. In 1878 Theodore Harms came into collision with his ecclesiastical superiors. Certain marriage laws had been promulgated, against which Harms entertained strong conscientious scruples, and to which he refused obedience. He was accordingly deposed from his office as minister, and he thereupon established the body known as the Free Church of Hanover, to which were drawn most of his supporters in the work of the Hermannsburg Mission.

Theodore Harms died in 1885 and was succeeded by his son Egmont Harms. By this time the wound which had been inflicted upon the Hermannsburg Society by the deposition of its Director had to a great extent healed. The friends and supporters of missionary effort who had remained faithful to the old Lutheran State Church, and who were deeply grieved at the separation of Theodore Harms and his Free Church adherents, now made earnest endeavours to heal the breach. These efforts were happily crowned with success, and in 1890 a union was effected between the secessionists of 1878 and the State Church from which they had been severed for twelve years.

There remained, however, a party in the Free Church who refused to endorse the action of Egmont Harms in re-uniting with the State Church. This party professed to be the representatives of the pure Lutheran tradition, and to have been actuated in their dissent from the union resolution by fidelity to Lutheran principles. They summed up their objections to

¹ Haccius : "Ein Rückblick," p. 75.

the step which E. Harms had taken in the following words: "He places the Mission Enterprise above the Church. Instead of maintaining that pure doctrine and a pure administration of the sacraments are the bond of union in the Church, he makes, in practice at least, the Mission Enterprise the bond of union."¹ The party who subscribed to these views refused to re-unite with the State Church, and by a resolution carried at their Synod at Wriedel (5 June, 1890), they decided to continue the Hanoverian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church.

This momentous step could not fail to have far-reaching consequences for the mission work in South Africa. Four of the Hermannsburg missionaries in Natal decided to throw in their lot with the anti-unionists, and so they formed the nucleus of the Free Hanoverian Mission in South Africa. Two of the mission stations which had been founded by the Hermannsburg Society, with a few hundred converts, thus passed into the hands of the "Wee Frees"—as, with a reference to the recent history of the United Free Church of Scotland, we may call the band of Hanoverians who refused union.

Since 1890 the work of the Hanoverian Free Church has greatly prospered. The two stations have now grown to eight, which are worked by ten missionaries. The number of converts now exceeds 5000. Instruction is conveyed to the native mind and heart in four Government-aided schools and six mission schools. The missionaries have the assistance of two native evangelists and some twenty native teachers and helpers. During the year 1908 the income of the Mission was approximately £1800.²

¹ "Missionsblatt" of the Hanoverian Free Church, 1900, p. 52.

² Other statistics, differing in several points from those here given, will be found in the Appendix (Statistics).

CHAPTER XL.

THE SCANDINAVIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein,
Obschon die Feinde willens seyn
Dich gänzlich zu verstören,
Und suchen deinen Untergang,
Davon dir wird recht angst und bang ;
Es wird nicht lange währen.

Tröste dich nur, dass deine Sach
Ist Gottes, dem befiehl die Rach
Und lass es ihn nur walten ;
Er wird durch seinen Gideon,
Den er wohl weiss, dir helfen schon,
Dich und sein Wort erhalten.

So wahr Gott Gott ist und sein Wort,
Muss Welt, Teufel und Höllenpfort,
Und was dem thut anhangen,
Endlich werden zu Schand und Spott.
Gott ist mit uns, und wir mit Gott ;
Den Sieg wolln wir erlangen.

“Battle-song” of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS (1632).

I. THE NORWEGIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.¹

Cchap. THE members of the Church of Norway were first stirred to
XL interest in, and prayer for, missionary undertakings during the
first quarter of the nineteenth century, and as the result of
that awakening the first “Association for Mission Work” was
established at Stavanger in 1826. This association sent Hans
C. Knudsen to be trained at Barmen, and subsequently pro-
vided for his support as missionary in connection with the
Rhenish Society.²

Mission interest continued to spread among the laity, very
few clergymen having been at this stage roused to enthusiasm.

¹ For most of the facts under this heading I have to thank the Rev. H. K. Leisegang.

² See p. 206.

In 1841 there existed already some sixty associations for the support of mission work. The aged Jon Haugvaldstad was the heart and soul of the new movement, and through his zeal the various isolated associations were united in 1842 to form the *Norwegian Missionary Society* with Stavanger as its seat. In the same year a scholarly young theologian named Hans P. S. Schreuder issued a brief appeal entitled, "A Few Words to the Church of Norway," in which he pleaded the cause of missions with great earnestness, and declared his intention of himself proceeding as missionary to the foreign field. This pamphlet awakened great enthusiasm, and arrested the attention of the ministers, who hitherto had been but lukewarm supporters of the cause.

In 1844 Schreuder was sent to inaugurate the first foreign mission of the Norwegian Society, Zululand being the field selected. Meanwhile the Society made rapid progress in Norway, and its membership grew apace. More than a thousand associations in various towns and villages are now affiliated to the parent Society. The affairs of the Society are managed by a board which has its headquarters in Stavanger, and the board in turn reports to the General Assembly of delegates from the affiliated centres, which meets every third year. A Training College has also been established for those who have not been able to attend University courses. The fields now occupied by the Society are Natal and Zululand, Madagascar, and the Hunan Province in China. The Society's revenue now exceeds £38,000 per annum, and the staff of European workers, including ladies and missionaries' wives, totals 150.

When Schreuder arrived in South Africa, he at once set about acquiring the Zulu language. As Natal was already well occupied by other missionary agencies, he decided to seek an entrance into Zululand, but failed to secure the necessary permission from Panda, the Zulu paramount chief. He then sailed for China, conceiving that the door of the Zulu nation was closed to him. But neither did he succeed in founding a mission in the great Eastern Empire, for Gütlaff (so we are told) considered his blond locks and fair visage to be insuperable obstacles to his success as a missionary in China.

In 1848 Schreuder was back in South Africa, where three new missionaries—Oftebro, Larsen and Ueland—joined him.

CHAP. The first mission station was founded two years later at
 XL. Umpumulo, on the border of Zululand. Shortly after this
 Panda took ill and sent to Schreuder for medicine. The latter prescribed for his patient to the best of his knowledge. Panda recovered, and attributing the health he had regained to the missionary's efficacious medicine, he invited the latter to enter the territory hitherto closed against him, and to found a second station at Empangeni, and a third some years later at Entumeni. Subsequently, as more workers were sent out, additional stations were established at Emahlabatini (1860), Inhlazatshe (1862), Imfule (1865), Umbonambi (1869), Eshowe (1861), Ekombe (1880) and Ungoye (1882). The missionaries who arrived in Zululand during these years were Messrs. Wettergreen, Kielland, Titlestad, Gundersen, Dahle, Leisegang, Steenberg, Nilsen and Stavem.

During the first twenty years of its existence the mission made but slow progress. Panda permitted his people to attend the services held by the missionaries, but that was all. No one was allowed to profess Christianity. His power was founded on force, and was the very antithesis of the doctrine taught by the white teachers. Still, in twos and threes the natives would visit the missionary, take service with him, attend the school, and eventually be accepted as members of the Church of Christ, and be baptised. In this manner the number of baptised Christians rose by little and little, until in 1873—after a quarter of a century's patient and persevering toil—it had risen to 245. Schreuder in the meantime had severed his connection with the Norwegian Missionary Society, under circumstances which will be related at a later stage.

During the fourteen years 1873 to 1887 Zululand was in a generally disturbed condition, and the progress of mission work was greatly impeded. Cetchwayo, who had been since 1856 the real ruler of the Zulu nation, succeeded his father Panda in 1872. As it was his chief aim to re-establish the military prestige of the Zulus, he resented the presence of the peaceable and peace-preaching missionaries, and attempted (though unsuccessfully) to expel them from Zululand. Native converts were subjected to persecution of various kinds, and in 1877 an old Zulu named Umagamusela was stabbed to death at Eshowe by Cetchwayo's orders.

As the native soldiers approached to put him to death, CHAP.
"Why would you kill me?" asked Umagamusela. XL.

"Because you are a learner, and would be baptised," was the answer.

"It is well," said the martyr, "but let me first pray." This request was granted him. He knelt down and prayed, and then rising to his feet, said: "Now I am ready; slay me," and so entered into his reward.

In spite, however, of adverse circumstances, and of wars and rumours of wars, the mission made a steady advance. When the Zulu war was brought to a close, work was resumed, and the mission entered a period of renewed prosperity. At the end of 1888 the Society counted, in addition to its main stations and European workers, five native teachers, thirty evangelists, forty-three out-stations, 541 baptised Christians, and upwards of 500 pupils in the schools. Gradually but surely the ancient entrenchments of heathenism—polygamy, witchcraft, tribal despotism, *et al.*—are being battered down by the persistent assaults of the truth as it is in Jesus.

The ultimate object of the Norwegian Society is the establishment of a self-supporting and self-propagating native Lutheran Church. With this aim in view native Christians have from the very outset been employed as teachers and lay preachers. Umpumulo Training School (established in 1892) has produced a goodly number of teachers, who are already at work in various parts of the field. Evangelists (or lay preachers) have generally been trained by the individual missionary. Hitherto the supply of students has been small, but a great improvement has been evident during the past few years. Only one native minister, Simon Ndhela, has so far been ordained; but some individuals who have done good work as teachers, are now preparing for the ministry.

The promise of the mission has never been brighter than it now is. Slowly the faith of the Zulu people in magic, witchcraft and ancestor-worship is being undermined. The fences of heathen practice, custom and ceremonial that surround their decaying beliefs are being slowly broken down. The nation has reached a critical stage in its history. The old order is passing: what new order is to be substituted? Pan, great Pan, is dead. To what new Divinity will the Zulu nation render homage?

CHAP.
XL. Christianity must press onward as never before. The doors of opportunity stand wide open. The heart of the Zulu is unbared. Dangers threaten on every hand—the danger of civilisation without Christianity, and of a change of dress without a change of heart. The only power that can deliver from present evils and ward off future perils is the religion of Jesus Christ.

II. THE CHURCH OF NORWAY MISSION.

Schreuder, who, as we have seen, inaugurated the Norwegian Missions in South Africa, was strongly attached to the Lutheran Church. When on a visit to his homeland in 1866, he was appointed first bishop of the Church in South Africa. This appointment led to some friction between himself and the Norwegian Missionary Society, by which he seems to have felt himself hampered in the exercise of his episcopal functions. In 1872, at any rate, he severed his connection with the Missionary Society, and announced his independence of that body. A new committee, representing the Church of Norway, was formed at Christiania, with Bishop Tandberg at its head. The missionaries in the field, however, declined to follow Bishop Schreuder, and remained faithful to the Norwegian Missionary Society. Schreuder took with him the station Entumeni in Zululand, and subsequently founded Untunjambili in Natal.

During the Zulu war of 1879 most of the mission stations in Zululand were destroyed, but Schreuder had inspired such a feeling of respect in the breast of the Zulu chief Cetchwayo, that Entumeni was spared. When Schreuder died in 1882 at the age of sixty-five, his mission counted not more than seventy individuals. Since his secession from the Norwegian Society he had to face many difficulties, and was dependent upon the assistance of native agents only; while the disturbances of the war-years could not but greatly retard the progress of the work.

In 1883 Nils Astrup arrived in South Africa as Schreuder's successor. He had been called to take up mission work by the Christiania Committee, and, relinquishing his pastorate, sailed for South Africa with wife and five children. He was

ordained Bishop during a visit to Norway in 1902. Reinforcements were soon forthcoming, and the Church of Norway Mission now consists of five European clergymen and three ordained natives, who work at four stations and three sub-stations. Native assistants are trained at the Untunjabili Seminary, and after due trial may be ordained to the ministry.

III. THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN MISSION.¹

The Lutheran Church of Sweden conducts its missionary operations through a Mission Board, consisting of both clerical and lay members, of which the Archbishop of Sweden is the official chairman. This Board has missions in two fields, in India and in South Africa.

The first missionary to represent the Swedish Church in this land was O. Witt, who arrived in 1876, and for a time was connected with Bishop Schreuder's mission. It was indeed the intention of the Home Committee to commence operations in Zululand, but war and other adverse circumstances prevented its fulfilment, and eventually a farm was purchased in Natal, near the Zulu border, and a station established which was called, in honour of the Swedish King, Oscarsberg. Some time later a second site was secured, and the station Amoibie, three miles from Oscarsberg, and now an out-station of the latter, was established.

In 1889 an important work was commenced at Dundee, the centre of a coal-district, to which thousands of natives flock in the search for work and wages. It can be readily understood that Dundee is a place of wide-spreading influence, since natives coming hither and hearing the Gospel carry its message with them when returning to their distant homes, and so disseminate its teachings far and wide. In addition to the work at the coal-fields, the Swedish Mission has also established itself at Dundee village, two miles distant, which latter centre has gradually assumed greater importance, and is now the chief station in Northern Natal. The Dundee station is also possessed of two important accessories to mission work—a hospital, established and supported by one of the lady missionaries,

¹ For information under this heading I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Rev. K. Hallendorff.

CHAP. XL. Miss H. Posse, and lately presented by her as a gift to the mission ; and the "Ebenezer Press," which produces a large supply of missionary literature, and from which also issues monthly the paper "Isitungwa"—the organ of the Lutheran Conference in Natal.

A third centre of great promise is Appelsbosch, in Umvoti County, purchased in 1886, and surrounded on three sides by a densely populated native location. A station to some degree dependent on Appelsbosch is Ifaze, where the ordained native minister, Jozef Zulu, labours under the supervision of the Applesbosch missionary. Another station was erected near the Umvoti River in 1896—viz. Emtulwa.

A long-cherished wish was fulfilled when in 1887 a mission station could be established in Zululand itself. The name of Ekutuleni ("in Peace") was bestowed upon it, in the hope that peace and quietness might come over the land that had so long been shaken by the storms of war. At first Ekutuleni seemed likely to belie its name, and the devoted missionary (Fristedt) was twice compelled to leave his station. But since 1883 the work here has entered upon a period of steady growth, in spite of the adverse influence of the chief Usibepu, whose heathen kraal is quite close to Ekutuleni. Mission work is now being vigorously prosecuted in three districts in Zululand—Ekutuleni, Bizela and Ceza.

Very important is the work conducted since 1902 by J. E. Norenius at Johannesburg. If the position of Dundee is of strategic value through the influx of natives to the coal-mines, much more is this the case with Johannesburg, which attracts native labourers from every part of South Africa, and even from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The Johannesburg missionary has a twofold duty to perform,—first, to care for members of the various Lutheran Churches and Societies at work in Zululand and Natal, so long as those members are employed on the mines or in other work in Johannesburg ; and, second, to preach the Gospel to the thousands of unevangelised heathen who flock in such numbers to the Golden City.

Finally, the Church of Sweden has made a valiant attempt to occupy another field—hitherto but little worked—in Rhodesia. The experience of other missions—French, Dutch,

German, American—that the Rodesian field is one in which the missionary must “sow in tears” before he can “reap in joy,” has been the experience of the Swedish brethren also. The mission in the Belingwe and Selukwe districts of Southern Rhodesia was first attempted in 1903, but it claimed as victims to the malarial climate, first, a native evangelist, and next Mrs. Hellden, the wife of the missionary at Selukwe, while the rest of the workers were so seriously broken in health that the field had to be temporarily evacuated. Only in 1908 was work resumed in the Belingwe district, but another heavy blow fell on the infant mission when Mr. Liljestrand was cut off by an attack of blackwater fever. Three graves have thus been dug in Rhodesia. There is, however, no thought of relinquishing the work among the Vakaranga, and two colleagues of Liljestrand—a missionary and a doctor—are continuing his labours.

The mission in the south now counts seven head stations, eighty-three out-stations, eleven ordained European missionaries, ten lady missionaries, one ordained native, 3408 converts (baptised), fifty schools and 1054 pupils. In Rhodesia (northern section of mission) there is one station, manned by two missionaries.¹

IV. MISSION OF THE SWEDISH HOLINESS UNION.

The Holiness Union was formed in Sweden in 1885 for the purpose of evangelising that land, and carrying the Gospel into its dark places. There are now some 190 evangelists—men and women—who are engaged in preaching in the towns, villages and homes of Sweden, and their earnest labours have been richly owned by God.

At the annual conference of the Union in 1890 it was decided to engage in foreign mission work, and O. Emanuelson was accordingly sent out to South Africa. After spending some time on stations of the Scandinavian Missions already established, he settled at Pietermaritzburg, where he and his devoted wife, who died in 1909, laboured with great acceptance among the prisoners and in the barracks.

New workers were from time to time sent out from Sweden, new doors were providentially opened, and new stations were

CHAP.
XL.

¹ Other statistics (different to these) in Appendix (Statistics).

CHAP. established. In 1909, according to K. J. Johanson's statement,
 XL. mission operations were being conducted at six centres by eighteen European workers. There are approximately 500 communicants, and some 200 children attend the various schools. The missionaries administer only adult baptism, prohibit the use of intoxicating drink and tobacco, and claim to exercise a strict discipline. More than 100 hymns have been translated into Zulu, and a monthly paper, *Baga*—"The Torch"—is issued by them.

V. OTHER SCANDINAVIAN SOCIETIES.

Since 1887 a new movement in the direction of independent missions, as distinct from missions on denominational lines, has been inaugurated in Europe and America. This movement, known as the Christian and Missionary Alliance, has adopted as its constitutional basis and watchword the "fourfold gospel" of redemption, sanctification, healing and the Second Advent. The movement took a firm hold upon many in Sweden, and resulted in the establishment of the *Holiness Union*, mentioned above, and of the *Scandinavian Alliance Mission*, commenced in 1892. This Alliance Mission was founded by Pastor Franson, the evangelist: it has its head-quarters in Chicago, and its two stations in South Africa are manned chiefly by American Swedes.

In connection with the Alliance movement there was also formed, in Norway, the *Norwegian Free Mission to East Africa*, which has two stations in South Africa. And finally the name must also be mentioned of the *Scandinavian Independent Baptist Union* which has seven European missionaries labouring at two stations in Natal.

VI. THE FINNISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

This Society was founded in 1859, on the occasion of the celebration of the seven hundredth anniversary of the conversion of Finland to the Christian faith. For a long time previous to this there existed, indeed, little circles of mission friends, but the sums they collected were sent to swell the fund of the Swedish Missionary Society. In 1870, however, the Finnish Society decided to undertake an independent mission. While they

¹ "Africa's Golden Harvests" (Feb., 1910).

were casting about for a suitable field, it occurred to Sirelius, the Director of the Society, to write for advice to his old friend Hugo Hahn, Rhenish missionary in Damaraland. The latter had lately paid a visit to the country lying north of the Rhenish field, and had been immensely impressed by the possibilities of the Ovambo—so the people in those regions called themselves. Hahn's suggestion was that the Finnish missionaries should join forces with their Rhenish brethren, in order to evangelise the people together. The suggestion was heartily adopted, and a number of Finns were sent for a time to the Rhenish training school at Barmen, in order to be initiated into mission praxis, and to pick up a slight knowledge of English and Dutch.

The first party of Finnish missionaries landed at Walvisch Bay at the commencement of 1869, but Ovamboland was not actually entered until the following year.

For many years the progress of the mission was exceedingly slow. The suspicion and antagonism of the natives had to be overcome by patience and forbearance. The missionary staff was subject to constant changes; and many other difficulties and troubles impeded the progress of the work. At the lapse of twenty years (1890) there were only five missionaries and twenty-one native Christians. Then followed a period of gradual but steady growth. The Word of God found an entrance into the hearts of the hearers, and after the long and patient sowing an abundant harvest appeared. In 1910 there were in the Ondonga district alone nine missionaries and their wives, one artisan missionary, five lady helpers, a large number of native assistants, and approximately 2000 baptised Christians. Truly, the Ovambo desert has begun to rejoice and blossom as the rose.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL AND FREE METHODIST MISSIONS.

Those who complain of or rail at missionary work in Africa, and who confine themselves to pointing out the undoubtedly too numerous errors of the missionaries and the shortcomings of their flocks, would do well to consider that even if the light which has been let in is but feeble and grey it has at least dispelled a worse than Stygian darkness.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

CHAP. THIS large and important denomination in the United States of America received its first impulse towards mission work by the conversion of a negro named Stewart in 1819. Stewart was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and on being converted immediately announced his intention of proceeding to the Indians as a missionary. This action on his part made an immense impression upon the Church to which he belonged, and led to the establishment of a Bible and Missionary Society. Under the auspices of this Society work was commenced in Liberia in 1824.

The Methodist Episcopal Church decided, in 1844, to conduct its missionary operations in its own name, and the Missionary Society was merged in a General Missionary Committee appointed by the General Conference. Together with a Board of Managers, this Committee controls the foreign missionary undertakings of the Church.

The African section of the Church mission work languished for many years. A commencement had indeed been made in Liberia, but no really aggressive foreign work was done in Africa until the appointment, in 1884, of Bishop William Taylor as Missionary Bishop of all Africa. Taylor commenced a new work on the west coast with St. Paul de Loanda as base, and attempted thence to establish a self-supporting mission on the Congo. He preached a crusade in

America, stirred great enthusiasm, and planned a chain of stations across Africa. Without sufficient preliminary investigation he landed his party of volunteers of various ages and conditions, between thirty and forty in number, on the African coast. No accommodation had been prepared for them, and they were soon reduced to great straits, and experienced a terrible time of privation, disease, starvation and death. Some managed to return to America. Many died in Africa. A party succeeded in reaching Stanley Pool, where they supported themselves by shooting hippos and selling their flesh to the natives. Nothing was accomplished, and not even the native language was acquired.¹

With the retirement and death of Bishop Taylor in 1896 and the appointment of Joseph C. Hartzell as his successor, the mistaken principle of self-support, in the early stages at least, was discarded, and the burden of earning their own living was lifted from the shoulders of the missionaries. The older missions along the West coast were brought into a condition of better organisation, and in 1901 a new enterprise—the East African Mission—was inaugurated. Work was commenced at Inhambane and Beira, two coast towns of Portuguese East Africa, and an important field was opened among the Vakaranga natives by the occupation of Old Umtali, in Southern Rhodesia. The Chartered Company had decided to move the township to the railway line, and, on representations being made by Bishop Hartzell, consented to make over to the Methodist Episcopal Mission the buildings at Old Umtali together with some 6000 morgen of ground. Thus a flourishing mission work was commenced (1899).

At first progress was exceedingly slow. Itineration was carried on among the neighbouring kraals, but attempts to establish schools and obtain regular hearers were futile. Boys were hired to work for the missionaries, and then induced to come to school for an hour each day. In the course of a few years, however, the station school was well attended, and the inhabitants of the kraals began petitioning for out-schools at their villages. But the attempt on the part of the missionaries to obtain girls as scholars was met with a determined opposition

¹ W. Holman Bentley: "Pioneering on the Congo," II, p. 414.

CHAP. which lasted for many years. Girls are worth so many cattle, XLI. and to permit them to fall under the influence of the missionaries would be to reduce appreciably their chances of obtaining wealthy suitors. So reasoned the parents, and turned deaf ears to the entreaties of the white teachers.

The work among the girls was placed, in 1901, in the capable hands of Mrs. Helen E. Rasmussen (subsequently the wife of John M. Springer), and ever since then has grown in volume and importance. By 1907 a great change for the better had come over the scene. The natives had become friendly; schools were in demand; a number of native helpers had been trained as interpreters or teachers; and in general the fields were white unto the harvest. New centres had been opened at Umtali (New) and Penhalonga, and the work was being extended in a southerly direction. Since 1901 the presiding elder of this section of the field has been Robert Wodehouse. In 1907 the mission in the Umtali field counted 200 members, 1000 probationers, and nearly 2000 Sunday-school pupils.

THE FREE METHODIST CHURCH.

The General Missionary Society of this Church was incorporated in 1885, and sent out its first missionaries to South Africa in the same year, in the persons of R. R. Sheineld and his wife. They commenced a mission work at Durban, Natal, but after a few years' labour this sphere was abandoned. At the same time a mission was established at Inhambane by Messrs. G. H. Agnew and Kelly. The deadly climate of this coast town soon carried off Kelly and his wife, though Agnew was spared to lay the foundations of what subsequently became a successful work. After several other missionaries¹ had succumbed to the attacks of fever, it was decided to carry on the mission at Inhambane by means of native workers, while the Europeans paid the station occasional visits during the dry season, and superintended matters generally. In 1907 there were twenty-seven native evangelists at work around Inhambane, while the members and adherents of the mission numbered over 1000. No less than four tribes speaking as many different languages were reached by these native workers.

¹ Messrs. Bennet and Haviland and their wives.

In Natal the Free Methodist Mission commenced its work in 1891, when A. D. Noyes purchased a farm some seventy miles south of Durban, which he named Fair View. Here Noyes and his wife continued to labour quietly and patiently till 1898, when they were succeeded by J. P. Brodhead, who shortly after was appointed superintendent of the Natal missions. Under the latter's vigorous hand the work was greatly extended : many out-stations were established, and the membership at the Fair View Station grew from eighteen members and probationers (in 1898) to 127 (in 1907).

CHAP.
XLI.

On the initiative of a Christian colonist, George Larkan, mission work was also commenced in a district some fifty miles southward from Fair View, and two flourishing stations were established at Itemba, in 1902, and at Edwaleni, on the banks of the Umtamvuma River, in the same year. The latter river forms the boundary between Natal and Pondoland, and it was natural that the work should extend across the intervening stream and be undertaken among the Pondos as well. Through the kindly offices of a local Christian magistrate, Major Sprigg, the chief of a small tribe of Pondos, Patakile by name, granted a few acres of ground to the mission, and here the station Greenville was founded. A few years later, in 1906, another sphere was opened twenty miles from Greenville among the people of the petty chief Baleni. And, finally, a brother of George Larkan, whose name has been already mentioned, offered a site for a new station at the Ibisi (Milk) River. There have been thus established three stations in Southern Natal, viz. Fair View, Itemba and Edwaleni; and three stations in Pondoland,—Greenville, Baleni's and Ibisi.

Mention must also be made of the mission work which is being carried on at Germiston, a suburb of Johannesburg. The first worker in this field was Rev. G. H. Agnew, who removed hither from Inhambane. For two years he did independent mission work, in conjunction with Mr. A. W. Baker of the Compounds Mission, but in 1899 the Free Methodist Board authorised the purchase of a plot of ground, which was styled Umusa Mission Station, and upon which a small chapel and a home for the missionary were speedily erected. The outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War compelled Agnew and his wife to withdraw to Natal, where they were instrumental in

CHAP. commencing the work at the Itemba Station. At the end of
XLI. 1901 Agnew returned to Germiston, where he succumbed to
an attack of blackwater fever in 1903. His work at the
Umusa Station and in the Compounds is being continued by
Rev. Jules Ryff.

CHAPTER XLII.

UNDENOMINATIONAL AND OTHER MISSIONS.

One hears of the "mechanical equivalent of heat". What we now need to discover in the social realm is the moral equivalent of war: something heroic that will speak to men as universally as war does, and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war has proved itself to be incompatible.
—PROFESSOR WILLIAM JAMES.

THE SOUTH AFRICA GENERAL MISSION.

THIS mission agency owes its inception chiefly to a lady worker, Mrs. Osborne, who had devoted herself to work among the soldiers in South Africa. During the course of a visit to England, she made the acquaintance of W. Spencer Walton—a man who, after his conversion at the age of 22, had been engaged for several years in evangelistic labours, first in connection with the Church of England, and subsequently as an independent missioner. To him Mrs. Osborne extended an earnest invitation to proceed to South Africa, in order to undertake evangelistic work on a larger scale than her own. The invitation was accepted, and in 1888 Walton sailed for the Cape, where he was warmly welcomed, among others, by Andrew Murray of Wellington, who from that day to this has been associated in the closest manner with the mission about to be inaugurated.

After a tour of the principal Cape centres, Walton returned to England in order to organise his mission upon a satisfactory home basis. In 1889 the "Cape General Mission" was successfully founded, and placed under the control of a Home Council, and in the course of the same year Walton (lately married) sailed again for the south with his first four colleagues—Dudley Kidd, Malcolmson, Coates and Jackson.

As it was the aim of the founders of the Cape General Mission to reach both the white and the black sections of the

CHAP.
XLII.

CHAP. XLII. inhabitants, the work was from the commencement a dual enterprise. In the chief towns of South Africa the missionaries laboured among the neglected white classes ; in the extensive native territories they devoted their attention to the unevangelised heathen. It is only with the latter work that we are here concerned.

Mission work among the natives was first commenced in Swaziland, where a plot of ground was secured on the banks of the Usuti River, and a station called Bethany founded. Meanwhile the mission was making considerable progress, especially in its labours among the European section of the community. After five years Walton was able to report that the original six workers had increased to sixty-eight, and that ten more were shortly to sail for South Africa. In 1894 the Cape General Mission was re-constituted as the South Africa General Mission, through its amalgamation with the South-east Africa Evangelistic Mission, under Mrs. Osborne (-Howe) and her husband Mr. Howe.

The scope of the mission was now greatly enlarged. The Swaziland mission soon counted four stations. In Natal work was undertaken, not only among the native population, but among the 100,000 Indian coolies. This latter labour calls for much faith and patience, owing to the three different Indian languages (Hindustani, Tamil and Telugu) which must be mastered, and the fanaticism that must be faced, especially from the Mohammedan Indians. During the last decade of the nineteenth century work was also commenced in Tembuland, Pondoland and Bomvanaland. Zululand and Tongaland (Thonga-land) were the next fields to be occupied, and in 1898 a station was established at Lulwe, near Port Herald, in Nyasaland. Besides greatly extending its work in the fields already mentioned, the South Africa General Mission entered Gazaland in 1902, and in 1910 pressed on towards the north, and commenced mission work in North-west Rhodesia, on the borders of the Congo State.

From this brief summary it is abundantly evident that the South Africa General Mission, though one of the youngest mission agencies in South Africa, has made by comparison the most rapid progress of any. Founded as recently as 1889, it possesses, after twenty-one years of labour, some

thirty centres of work, with approximately ninety European workers, male and female (missionaries' wives included).¹ Of these European missionaries, a fair number maintain themselves, many are supported by particular friends or associations in England or America, and the remainder are salaried from the mission fund.

The South Africa General Mission has done and is doing excellent work as a pioneering agency. Whether its mission enterprises will yield as rich a final harvest as that which has attended the labours of the older Societies and Churches, the future must reveal. The Mission has to cope with two fundamental difficulties which are inherent in its constitution and methods. In the first place, it is an undenominational mission, connected with no one Church, but deriving its support and drawing its personnel from the members of the various evangelical Christian Churches. It can therefore build up no compact, well-organised native Church, since it subscribes to no one definite creed, and has not as yet adopted any recognised form of Church government. By missions in the pioneering stage the need for confessions and polities is indeed little felt, but so soon as constructive and edificatory work commences, the necessity arises to draw up a confession of faith, however summary, and to lay down an ecclesiastical constitution, however brief. The South Africa General Mission, in short, professes to be little more, at present, than a pioneer missionary agency, and is gradually feeling its way to the position it must ultimately occupy in the whole scheme of Christian missions in South Africa.

A second difficulty with which this Mission has to contend is the scanty supply of thoroughly trained missionaries. Comparatively few of the ninety workers have enjoyed a careful theological training for their work. Walton himself, the founder and first Director of the mission, was, as his biographer remarks,² "without any formal theological training"; and though at a later stage the ranks of the missionaries were strengthened by the addition of a number of ordained ministers (Rev. Walter Searle, and others), the general absence of theological qualification in the workers cannot but result in a

¹ These figures include workers among both Europeans and natives.

² Weeks: "W. Spencer Walton," p. 19.

CHAP. certain lack of depth and permanence in the religious life of
XLII. the converts.

Nevertheless, with all discounting, the work of the South Africa General Mission in South Africa has been richly owned of God. The Mission was commenced and has been sustained in faith and prayer. The influence of its revered president, Andrew Murray, has made itself widely and beneficently felt. Many of its workers—both men and women—have set a high standard of courage and devotion, and in the 2500 converts that have been granted them we see the rich reward of their labour of love and patience of hope.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMPOUNDS AND INTERIOR MISSION.

In 1896 a Natal lawyer, who felt called to give himself to mission work, gave up his business and proceeded to Johannesburg in order to devote himself to labour among the thousands and tens of thousands of natives employed on the Witwatersrand gold fields. His name was A. W. Baker, the founder of the South African Compounds and Interior Mission. From the first it was proposed to conduct this mission on “faith” lines, such as have been made famous by Hudson Taylor in the case of the China Inland Mission.

In 1899 two Australian pastors, having come to hear of this new undertaking, invited Baker to visit that country in order to awaken interest in the work upon which he was engaged. His visit was eminently successful. A central council was formed in Melbourne, and the constitution and rules of the new mission placed upon a sound and secure basis. The management was thus entrusted to a body of men who belonged to such diverse communities as the Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist and Young Men’s Christian Association, while in various other centres committees were formed to enlist sympathy and prayer for the work in the Compounds.

On the denominational basis of the mission the Director says: “Our Mission is founded on lines similar to the China Inland Mission, is inter-denominational, accepts workers of every Christian denomination who appear eligible and who sign the requirements.¹ No direct appeal is made to any one

¹ The undertaking which the proposed worker subscribes to will be found in the Appendix, *Note BB.*

for funds, and no collection is taken." As to the method and aim of the work we are told that "every Sunday the workers go from compound to compound holding open-air services from 9 A.M. till evening, and preaching a very definite gospel. Repentance is the first point insisted upon—a turning from all forms of sin to God with a definite purpose to abandon wrong-doing and obey God; . . . and Restitution—a making right, as far as possible, all wrongs previously done to their fellow-men, and restoring all things stolen or paying the equivalent. . . . Four afternoons a week are devoted to visitation from room to room in the compounds, and personal dealing with the inmates. Classes for instruction in their own languages are held for the natives during two hours each day."

The Mission does not confine its operations to the compounds of the Rand. Converts carry the blessing they have received to the homes and tribes from which they come, and from time to time the Director himself or another member of the Mission makes a tour of itineration—generally through the low-lying tracts of Portuguese East Africa. Thus it has come about that centres of work have been established in various directions. Besides the Transvaal work in and around Johannesburg, the mission counts eight stations, manned partly by Europeans and partly by natives, in Natal; one in Portuguese East Africa; and one in British East Africa.

HEPHZIBAH FAITH MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

This is an American Society that has established itself in Natal and at Johannesburg. In response to a request for information, the Rev. J. P. Hill writes:—

"The work in South Africa owes its inception to Elder Weavers, president of the Association. He was led to see the need of a closer walk with God while preaching in America years ago, and the power of God was wonderfully manifested in his meetings, especially on lines of healing. In 1896 he came on a trip to Africa, bringing missionaries with him, and held meetings at various centres in Natal, where the same power was manifested.

"Most of our workers have laboured for a considerable time in connection with the Compounds Mission, Johannesburg.

- CHAP. At present we are separate and working on undenominational
 XLII. lines, as we have always done, being thus free to obey the
 Spirit and go where He leads us. We still have a work at
 the Compounds, while here (at Beulah, Lower Umkomaas) we
 have a training home or school for native workers who give
 themselves to the Lord's work. Some thirty are with us at
 present, and are being prepared for evangelistic work. Some
 of our workers also undertake prolonged evangelistic tours in
 Portuguese East Africa, through the Inhambane and Bachopi-
 land districts."

BRETHREN IN CHRIST MISSION.

This Society which, like the preceding, hails from America, has established itself in Rhodesia. The first station (Matopo Hills) was commenced in 1898, and is now in charge of Elder H. P. Steigerwald, who likewise supervises all the work in South Africa. There are in addition stations at or near Bulawayo and Gwanda in Southern Rhodesia, and Chomo in North-west Rhodesia, all of which were commenced in 1906. Besides these there are six schools at which instruction is imparted by native teachers. The staff now (1910) consists of eleven white missionaries and ten natives.

THE SALVATION ARMY.

The Salvation Army, which arrived in South Africa in 1883, commenced its distinctively native work in about the year 1890. A site was secured on the Amatikulu River near Eshowe (Zululand), and here was established the "Catherine Booth" settlement. The work in Zululand and Natal has greatly grown since the first small beginnings, and the Army is now at work in seven sections—Eshowe, Stanger, Klip River, Weenen, Ixopo, Maritzburg and Durban. In the Flyhead division a farm of 5000 acres has been secured, on which it is proposed to undertake an industrial mission. The sections above mentioned contain some twenty centres, at which European workers are stationed, without counting the many "societies" (sub-stations) that are served by natives under European supervision.

In the Kafrarian district an important work centres in

King William's Town, where at the Tshoxa institution some twenty natives are undergoing a course of training for mission work. In this district there are spheres of work on native locations such as Indwe, and among the raw heathen, as at Ridsdel. Some ten stations and a number of societies belong to this district.

In the Transkei an important industrial institution has been established at Cancele, not far from Mount Frere, and at five other centres a successful work is being carried on among the Mpondonisi. Successful missions are also being conducted in five of the Johannesburg compounds, and at Steenpan in the Orange Free State.

Turning to Rhodesia we find the Army at work at one centre in Matabeleland (Leighwood, near Figtree), and at five in Mashonaland. In the latter field a farm of 3000 acres has been acquired in the Mazoe Valley, on which has been founded the Pearson settlement, where an industrial mission is being successfully carried on.

The native missions of the Salvation Army have entered upon a new period of growth and expansion since General Booth authorised a vigorous forward movement, and during the last two years especially a most prosperous work has been accomplished in South Africa.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

In the year of the centenary of the Baptist Missionary Society (1892) great enthusiasm was kindled in Baptist circles by the reminiscences of Carey's great work in India, and the Baptists of South Africa were roused to attempt a mission of their own. Thus it happened that the South African Baptist Missionary Society came into being.

The first centre at which missionary operations were undertaken was at the Tshabo, about twelve miles from King William's Town, where the German Baptists had commenced work among the natives previously to 1892. King William's Town itself is now the centre from which mission work is carried on in several districts, such as Balassi, Rabala, Keiskama and others. Other fields are: the vicinity of Queenstown (Buffalo Thorns), Tembuland, where a highly successful mission is being

CHAP.
XLII.

CHAP. carried on, and Pondoland, where fresh ground was broken
XLII. fifteen years ago, and excellent results have been obtained.

THE MISSIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The Presbyterian Church of South Africa has engaged in mission work on its own account since 1904. There are now two flourishing native missions, one in and around Johannesburg, under the superintendence of Rev. C. B. Hamilton, and one with Bulawayo as its base, which is supervised by Rev. S. S. Dornan. At various other centres in South Africa mission work is carried on under the direction of the ministers of local (European) congregations. The Europeans are seconded in their efforts by a faithful body of native agents—as evangelists, catechists and teachers. About £1200 annually is expended by the Mission Committee on its various undertakings. In its last report the Committee says: "With a little more enthusiasm on the part of ministers and office-bearers, the standard of giving to native missions might be very largely raised. The Spirit of Christ is the missionary spirit, and when that spirit is present means should be found to support the missionary enterprise of the Church."

CHAPTER XLIII.

'THE PRESENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.'

And Thou, O King, shall take Thine own
Triumphant; and, Thy place fulfilled,
The flaw of Nature shall be healed,
And joyous round Thy central throne

I see the vocal ages roll,
And all the human universe
Like some great symphony rehearse
The order of its perfect whole;

And smile, with dazzled wisdom dumb,—
Remembering all I said and sung—
That man asks more of mortal tongue
Than skill to say, "Thy Kingdom come".

SYDNEY DOBELL.

OUR last review of the missionary situation was taken in the middle of the nineteenth century.¹ By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century a great change has come over the scene. The whole venue of missionary operation has undergone a radical transformation. In 1850 the Cape Colony alone was occupied by a civilised and settled community: to the other portions of South Africa, Europeans had indeed already penetrated, and were engaged in laying the foundations of future States, but neither the Transvaal nor the Orange Free State had as yet secured the acknowledgment of its independence. Law and order were only in process of being evolved out of confused and chaotic conditions. The great native chieftains were still supreme within their own dominions, and missionaries could only enter with their express permission, and were liable to maltreatment and dismissal at their good pleasure.

In the present year of grace (1910) we find these conditions

CHAP.
XLIII.

¹ Chapter XXVI.

CHAP.
XLIII. practically reversed. European rule has been firmly established all over the sub-continent, from Cape Town to the Zambesi, and from the Atlantic sea-board to Delagoa Bay. The power of the native chiefs has been broken ; they wield their authority, such as it is, in strict subordination to the ruling European power ; and their territories have been either incorporated into a South African State or declared a Protectorate of a European Government. National customs that are repugnant to the principles of modern civilisation have been declared illegal, and their observance can, if necessary, be put down by force. And finally, the privilege of being taxed and so contributing to the national revenue—that universal badge of civilised society—has been conferred upon the South African natives. These settled conditions signify that, from a missionary point of view, doors which in 1850 stood closed, or were at best but slightly ajar, have now been flung wide open. “Yesterday (South) Africa was the continent of history, of mystery, of tragedy ; to-day it is the continent of opportunity.”¹

During the past sixty years the missionary agencies in the sub-continent have increased out of all knowledge. In 1850 there were eleven missionary bodies at work in South Africa, and the total of the missionary personnel was, at an estimate, considerably less than 150. To-day the number of missionary agencies has grown to more than thirty, and the missionaries at work in South Africa (including German and Portuguese territory and the Bechuanaland and South Rhodesian protectorates) have mounted up to 1650,² while if we add to these the priests of the various Catholic orders at work in distinctively mission fields, the numbers cannot fall far short of 2000. Truly a marvellous increase for little more than a half-century ! With 2000 missionaries to 7,000,000 natives, or one missionary to every 3500 natives, South Africa may well lay claim to being, with the possible exception of the South Sea Islands, the best occupied mission field in the world.

The multiplication of missionary agencies has, however, brought serious evils in its train. To these evils the Report of Commission I of the World Missionary Conference has directed attention in the following terms :—

¹ Bishop J. C. Hartzell.

² “Statistical Atlas,” World Missionary Conference.

In the almost unanimous judgment of our missionary correspondents the number of European missionaries in the field would be adequate for the work, if only they were properly distributed, and were properly seconded by efficient native workers. Almost all the correspondents bewail the extent of overlapping, which has a prejudicial influence on the attitude of the natives affected by it, and tends to neutralise that wise and careful discipline which is so necessary in the upbuilding of a native Church.

It is sufficient here to point out the evil of overlapping and its resultant laxity of discipline, without the suggestion of a remedy. At this late stage in the history of mission work in South Africa it is probably impossible to remove the evil complained of, though its ill effects may be largely obviated by a generous missionary comity and the unswerving determination to respect the discipline of contiguous societies.

The growth of a spirit of inter-denominational comity is, indeed, one of the most pleasing features of the present missionary situation. This spirit has been greatly fostered by the General Missionary Conferences,—triennial gatherings of representatives of all the missionary organisations in South Africa. Three of these gatherings have thus far been held, the first of which (1904) was presided over by the late Dr. James Stewart, and the second (1906) by the veteran Rev. J. S. Moffat. At the conferences there have been free and informing discussions of missionary problems, and the formulation of general missionary principles—the garnered experience of years of patient, practical mission work. But their chief gain has undoubtedly been the creation of a feeling of unity which previously was almost non-existent, and the promotion of missionary comity founded upon a better acquaintance with, and a sincerer regard for, each other and each other's methods of work.

In estimating the progress made in the evangelisation of South Africa, it must be borne in mind that this sub-continent has afforded a (comparatively speaking) easy mission field. There has been in South Africa no monstrous caste system to break down, as in India, and no hoary religious systems to contend with, as in China and Thibet. The most vital element in the religion of the South African Bantu races is the belief in witchcraft—a belief upon which the onward march of civilisation and the spread of education, even apart from Christianity,

CHAP. XLIII. are bound to act as powerful solvents. Compared with such huge problems as moving the immobile East and overcoming the fanaticism of Islam, the missionary in South Africa is faced with an easy task. He has to deal, moreover, with a virile race. Many of the "nature-peoples"—if the Germanism may be excused—are moribund. The Tasmanians have disappeared, the South Sea races are decreasing in alarming fashion, the American Indians are likewise diminishing, the Bushmen and Hottentots survive only through the introduction of alien blood. But the South African Bantu races show no signs of decrepitude. On the contrary, they are increasing at a more rapid rate than the European inhabitants, and they double themselves in every twenty-five or thirty years.

The consciousness of being an appreciable factor in the evolutionary process by which these nations are being transformed from a lower to a higher type of race, has encouraged the heart and lightened the task of the missionary. For missionary effort is increasingly directed, not merely at the conversion of the individual, but also at the regeneration of the race,—not at the establishment of the kingdom of God in the particular soul only, but at its establishment in the life of the nation. Missionary enterprise in South Africa has long passed the pioneering and experimental stage; the missionary agencies are now largely concerned with organising their converts into a great Christian society.

Keeping this goal steadily in view, it is necessary to enunciate certain principles by the application of which alone the object in view may be ultimately attained. The first of these principles is a negative one—we require in South Africa no more missionary societies. A further multiplication of agencies would be nothing short of a calamity. Many areas in South Africa are suffering from a grievous congestion of missionary establishments, and any increase of these, by societies not yet at work in the sub-continent, is to be strongly deprecated. There are, indeed, districts such as Portuguese East Africa where more stations might be and ought to be established, but the unevangelised areas can easily be occupied by societies already at work in the field, and so much scope for development should at least be left them.

Another principle that calls for wider application is this—

we need a larger and better qualified native ministry. It is a truism to say that the best work for the African can be done by the African himself, but it is a truism that requires to be re-stated and re-enforced. Under the guidance and supervision of the white missionary, the native pastor and the native evangelist have shown themselves equal to tasks of considerable magnitude, and they should be wisely encouraged to assume even larger responsibilities. This can only be done in the case of men who have had wide experience and a thorough training. Better equipped and better staffed training schools and theological colleges are the great missionary desideratum in South Africa to-day. Greater efficiency can easily be attained by following the example of two societies in Natal,¹ which have lately joined forces in order to establish common training institutions.

A third principle that needs to be enunciated is this—the ultimate object of missionary enterprise should be the establishment of a national native Church. A Chinese delegate to the Edinburgh Conference is reported to have said that denominationalism never interested the Chinese mind, and that China loved the ideal of unity in the home, in the nation and in religion. Denominationalism unfortunately interests the African mind but too well, but it were better, far better, if this had not been so. South Africa has no use for the denominational differences and ecclesiastical feuds which are rife in Europe and America. She has a right to enter the fellowship of the Christian Churches unencumbered by the unhappy entail of sixteenth century and seventeenth century divisions.

That the establishment of a national native Church in South Africa is an ideal which for the present is largely unrealisable, may be freely conceded. An irreducible minimum of Christian doctrine may perhaps be discovered to which all branches of the Church of Christ can heartily subscribe. It is when we come to divergent systems of Church government that the really difficult problems emerge. Between Roman absolutism, Anglican sacerdotalism and Presbyterian or Wesleyan democracy compromise would scarcely seem possible. But the whole scheme for a national native Church need not

¹ The United Free Church of Scotland and the American Zulu Mission.

CHAP. XLIII. on this account be dismissed as visionary. Even granted that it is to some extent an ideal, it must not be forgotten that ideals inspire and mould conduct. By hitching our wagon to this star we may be preparing the way for a future generation to reach the heights we have failed to conquer.

Our task is done. We have followed in detail the fortunes of the earliest missionaries, and traced in briefer fashion the extension of missionary operations in subsequent decades. Through every chapter of the narrative we have seen the manifest finger of God—leading, directing, sustaining, protecting. Whatever faithfulness and courage His servants may have displayed, have been the work of His inspiring Spirit. Whatever permanent and satisfactory results have been achieved, are God's gracious and unmerited gift. Whatever imperfections have marred the good work, are due to human error, human shortsightedness, human pride and presumption. All our faithlessness and supineness, however, cannot enfeeble God's gracious purposes. Those purposes must stand. We may give ourselves to the furtherance of those purposes, or we may, wittingly or unwittingly, lend ourselves to their frustration. If the former, how great is our reward ; if the latter, how great will be our shame and loss.

Let us then endeavour to fulfil our divinely-appointed destiny. "There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed." The conquest is not yet complete: it has hardly even begun. We need leaders for the fight; we need soldiers for the ranks, who shall—

Fill up the gaps in our files,
Strengthen the wavering line,
Establish, continue our march,
On, to the bounds of the waste,
On, to the City of God.

We need the sinews of war; we need the prayers of the Lord's remembrancers; we need a new spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice; we need above all, before all, the calming, inspiriting presence of Him who with the command GO coupled the all-embracing promise—

LO, I AM WITH YOU ALL THE DAYS, EVEN UNTO THE
CONSUMMATION OF THE AGE.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES.

[*N.B.*.—Works are referred to in brief. Full titles, place of publication and date, are found in the Bibliography.]

CHAPTER I.—*South Africa and its Aboriginal Inhabitants.*

APP. I.

Authorities : Theal—"History and Ethnography"; "Kaffir Folklore".

Bleek—"Comparative Grammar"; "Reynard the Fox".

Stow—"Native Races".

Kidd—"Essential Kafir".

CHAPTER II.—*The Earliest Christian Missionaries.*

Authorities : Theal—"History and Ethnography"; "Records of S. E. Africa".

Wilmot—"Monomotapa".

Mathers—"Zambesia".

CHAPTER III.—*The Mission of the Dominican Fathers.*

Authorities : As on Chapter II.

CHAPTER IV.—*Early Efforts by the Dutch Colonists.*

Authorities : Theal—"History and Ethnography".

Van Riebeek—"Dagverhaal".

Moodie—"The Record".

Nachtigal—"Oudere Zending".

Spoelstra—"Bouwstoffen".

CHAPTER V.—*Early Missionary Effort on Behalf of Slaves.*

Authorities : As on Chapter IV.

CHAPTER VI.—*Gradual Relaxation of Missionary Effort.*

Authorities : As on Chapter IV; and also :—

Kolbe—"Nauwkeurige Beschrijving".

Valentijn—"Beschrijvinge".

Böving—"Curieuse Beschreibung".

Note A.

APP. I. CHAPTER VII.—*The First Missionary to the Hottentots.*

- Authorities : Theal, Nachtigal, Spoelstra (as on Chapter IV).
 “ Kaapsche Cyclopædie.”
 Hamilton—“ History ”.
 Schneider—“ Gnadenthal ”.
 Thompson—“ Moravian Missions ”.

Note B.

CHAPTER VIII.—*Heralds of the New Mission Era.*

- Authorities : Theal, Nachtigal, Spoelstra (as on Chapter IV).
 “ Leerredenen ” and “ Levensbeschrijving ” (H. R. van Lier).
 Vos—“ Merkwaardig Verhaal ”.
 Philip—“ Memoir, Mrs. M. Smith ”.
 “ Gedenkschriften.”

Note C.

Note D.

CHAPTER IX.—*Re-commencement of the Moravian Mission.*

- Authorities : As on Chapter VII ; and also :—
 Theal—“ Records of Cape Colony ”.
 Moodie—“ The Record,” part v (Collins’ Journal).
 Barrow—“ Travels ”.

Note E.

CHAPTER X.—*The Moravian Mission : Growth and Extension.*

- Authorities : as on Chapter IX ; and also :—
 Thomas Smith—“ Origin and History ”.

CHAPTER XI.—*The First South African Missionary Society.*

- Authorities : Nachtigal—“ Oudere Zending ”.
 Faure—“ Redekoer ”.
 “ Nederduitsch Zuid Afrikaansch Tijdschrift.”
 “ De Honingbij.”
 “ Gedenkschriften.”
 Minutes of the Society (in MSS. only).
 Printed Reports of the Society.

CHAPTER XII.—*The Earliest London Missionaries.*

- Authorities : Lovett—“ History ”.
 “ Transactions ” of the Missionary Society.
 “ Gedenkschriften.”
 Philip—“ Researches ”.
 Moffat—“ Missionary Labours ”.

CHAPTER XIII.—*The London Mission in its Northward Development.* APP. I.

Authorities: As on Chapter XII; and also:—

Lichtenstein—"Travels".

Burchell—"Travels".

Campbell—"Travels".

Note F.

CHAPTER XIV.—*Van der Kemp and the Bethelsdorp Mission.*

Authorities: as on Chapter XII; and also:—

Theal—"History" and "Records of Cape Colony,"
Vols. VI-IX.

Cloete—"Five Lectures".

Philip—"Memoir, Mrs. M. Smith".

Van Oordt—"Slagtersnek".

CHAPTER XV.—*Further History of the Bethelsdorp Mission.*

Authorities: as on Chapter XIV.

Note G.

CHAPTER XVI.—*The Superintendency of Dr. Philip.*

Authorities: Theal—"History" and "Records".

Lovett—"History".

Philip—"Researches".

Moodie—"Record," "Specimens" and "Correspondence".

"Report of Select Committee on Aborigines"
(1837).

"Correspondence Relative to Kafir Tribes"
(1851).

Boyce—"Notes".

Note H.

Note I.

Note J.

CHAPTER XVII.—*Robert Moffat and the Bechuana Mission.*

Authorities: Moffat—"Missionary Labours".

Moffat, J. S.—"Lives".

Lovett—"History".

Thompson—"Travels".

CHAPTER XVIII.—*The Commencement of the Wesleyan Missions.*

Authorities: Thomas Smith—"History".

Whiteside—"History".

B. Shaw—"Memorials".

W. Shaw—"Story".

APP. I.

Holden—"Brief History".
Theal—"History" and "Records".

Note K.

Note L.

CHAPTER XIX.—*The Early Years of the Scottish Missions.*

Authorities: Theal—"History" and "Records".

Carlyle—"Mission Fields".

Young—"African Wastes".

Stewart—"Lovedale, South Africa". (Edin. 1894.)

Wells—"Stewart of Lovedale".

Note M.

CHAPTER XX.—*The French Mission to Basutoland.*

Authorities: Carlyle—"Mission Fields".

Casalis—"The Basutos".

"Journal des Missions Évangéliques" (1826 seqq.).

Arbousset and Daumas—"Narrative".

Jousse—"La Mission Française".

Theal—"History" and "Basutoland Records".

Note N.

CHAPTER XXI.—*The First Twenty Years of the Rhenish Mission.*

Authorities: Von Rohden—"Geschichte".

Galton—"Narrative".

Andersson—"Lake Ngami".

CHAPTER XXII.—*The Beginnings of the Berlin Mission.*

Authorities: Kratzenstein—"Kurze Geschichte".

Theal—"History".

Hofmeyr—"Twintig Jaren".

CHAPTER XXIII.—*The American Zulu Mission.*

Authorities: Grout, L.—"Zululand".

Tyler—"Forty Years".

Harris—"Wild Sports".

Bird—"Annals".

Note O.

Note P.

CHAPTER XXIV.—*Church of England Missions before 1850.*

Authorities: Hewitt—"Sketches".

Gardiner—"Narrative".

Bird—"Annals".

"The South African Christian Recorder,"

Vol. II (1836-37).

"Het Ned. Zuid Afrikaansch Tijdschrift" APP. I.
(1839).

Note Q.

CHAPTER XXV.—*Progress of other Missions to 1850.*

Authorities: as on Chapters IX, XIII, XIV, XVII; and also:—
"De Kerkbode" (organ of D. R. Church, weekly).
"Acta Synodi der N. G. Kerk in Zuid Afrika"
(1824 *segg.*).

Note R.

CHAPTER XXVI.—*Survey of South African Missions in 1850.*

Authorities: Philip—"Researches".
Pringle—"Narrative".
Moodie—"The Record".
,, "Evidence of the Motives and Objects
of the Bushman Wars."

Note S.

CHAPTER XXVII.—*The London Mission to the Makololo and Matabele.*

Authorities: Lovett—"History".
Mackenzie—"Ten Years".
Hepburn—"Twenty Years".
Carnegie—"Among the Matabele".

CHAPTER XXVIII.—*Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church.*

Authorities: as under Chap. XXV.

Note T.

CHAPTER XXIX.—*The Later History of Wesleyan Missions.*

Authorities: Holden—"Brief History".
Whiteside—"History".
Moister—"Conversations".
Taylor—"Christian Adventures".

CHAPTER XXX.—*Later Developments of the American Board Missions.*

Authorities: Smith, Judson—"History".
"South African Deputation Papers" (1904).
"The East Central African Mission in Gazaland"
(1903).

CHAPTER XXXI.—*The French Mission after 1850.*

Authorities: as on Chap. XX; and also:—
Mackenzie—"Coillard".

APP. I.

Lagden—"The Basutos".
Theal—"Basutoland Records".

Note U.

CHAPTER XXXII.—*François Coillard and the Barotsi Mission.*

Authorities : Coillard—"Threshold".
Macintosh—"Coillard".
Jousse—"La Mission Française".
Bertrand—"Barotsi".

Note V.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—*The Swiss Romande Mission.*

Authorities : Jousse—"La Mission Française".
Coillard—"Threshold".
Berthoud—"Les Nègres Gouamba".

Note W.

Note X.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—*The Rhenish Mission in Later Years.*

Authorities : Von Rohden—"Geschichte".
Theal—"History".
Andersson—"Lake Ngami".
Külz—"Deutsch-Südafrika".

CHAPTER XXXV.—*Berlin Missions during the Last Half-Century.*

Authorities : Kratzenstein—"Kurze Geschichte".
Gensichen—"Bilder".
Wessmann—"Bawenda".
Hofmeyr—"Twintig Jaren".

CHAPTER XXXVI.—*A Half-Century of Anglican Missions.*

Authorities : "Life of Bishop Gray."
"Henry Callaway."
Baynes—"South Africa" (1908).
"Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G."

Note Y.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—*Lovedale and the Scottish Missions.*

Authorities : as on Chapter XIX; and also :—
Chalmers—"Tiyo Soga".
Macdonald, Jas.—"Light in Africa".

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—*The Roman Catholic Missions.*

Authorities : "Missiones Catholicae, curâ S. Congregationis
De Propaganda Fide descriptae" (Romae,
MCMVII).

"The Catholic Directory of British South Africa." APP. I.
 "Das Trappisten Missionskloster Mariannhill"
 (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1907).

Note Z.

Note AA.

CHAPTER XXXIX.—*The Hermannsburg and Hanoverian Missions.*

Authorities: Haccius—"Denkschrift" and "Rückblick".
 Mackenzie—"Ten Years".
 "Missionsblatt der Hannoverschen Evang.-Lutherischen Freikirche" (1899 and 1900).

CHAPTER XL.—*The Scandinavian Missionary Societies.*

Authorities: Carlyle—"Mission Fields".
 Warneck—"History".

CHAPTER XLI.—*The Methodist Episcopal and Free Methodist Missions.*

Authorities: Bliss—"Encyclopædia of Missions".
 Springer—"The Heart of Central Africa".
 Brodhead—"Our Free Methodist Missions in Africa" (1908).

CHAPTER XLII.—*Undenominational and other Missions.*

Weeks—"W. Spencer Walton".

Note BB.

CHAPTER XLIII.—*The Present Situation in South Africa.*

"Reports" of the South African General Missionary Conference for 1904, 1906 and 1909.

APPENDIX II.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

EXTRACT FROM LIST OF CRIMINAL CONVICTIONS BEFORE THE COURT OF JUSTICE OF THE CASTLE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE 1672-82).

APP. II. No. 120. 1672, Feb. 11. Kharri, Dhaurry, Teutche, Achtony and Chamtagou, all residing in the territory of the native captain Gonnema. Assault and robbery of sheep. Sentence: first, second, and third prisoners to be flogged, branded and banished to Robben Island in chains for fifteen years; fourth and fifth prisoners to be flogged and banished for seven years.

[Executed on the 11th. Prisoners escaped to the main on 4 January, 1673.]

No. 121. 1672, May 11. A. J. Fries, convict on Robben Island. Stabbing. Sentence: to be flogged and marked on the back with a red-hot knife, with two years' banishment in addition to former sentence.

[The "marking" remitted by pardon on the 14th.]

No. 122. 1672, July 6. G. Gabriels and O. Knoets, convicts. Assault. Sentence: to be flogged and banished for five years, chained together, in addition to former sentence.

No. 123. 1672, July. W. Willem, burgher. Homicide of a Hottentot. Sentence (in absence of the culprit) outlawry, banishment and confiscation of property.

No. 125. 1672, Aug. 17. J. Jans, free man. Theft of money, by picking the pockets of a drunken man. It is mentioned in aggravation that the prisoner not only got drunk himself, but intoxicated the dogs and pigs also with sugar and eggs mixed with wine. Sentence: to be flogged, to work in chains for three years, and all his property confiscated.

[Executed on the 27th.]

No. 127. 1672, Oct. 21. Jan Tenger, soldier. Mutinous and seditious conduct; repeated prison-breaking; desertion; and theft of a sheep, the property of Hottentots, while vagabondising. Sentence: to be severely flogged and dismissed from the service, his sword to be broken, to be pilloried the whole day under the gallows with a halter round his neck and a sheep-skin above his head, to labour in chains for ten years, and to forfeit all his pay.

No. 128. 1672, Nov. 24. Four soldiers. Inciting others to mutiny and to demand greater allowance of food. Sentence: two of the prisoners to be hanged, and the other two flogged and to labour in chains for twenty-five years. Life or death to be decided by drawing lots.

[Executed on the 26th.]

No. 137. 1673, May 31. P. Bartolomei, free carpenter. Lese Majestatis, in APP. II. having repeatedly said that he would shoot the Governor like a dog. Sentence: to be bound blindfolded to a post, and to have a bullet fired over his head, with three years' banishment to public works on Robben Island, with confiscation of all his property.

No. 147. 1673, Sept. 22. Trijntje Theunissen, free woman; H. Cornelissen and Jan Theunissen, her late servants. Concealing in her herd and slaughtering two cows, apparently belonging to some Hottentots, which had strayed. Sentence: the first prisoner to be bound to a post at the place of execution, with a halter round her neck and a cow's hide above her head; to be severely flogged, branded and confined on Robben Island for twelve years, to make good the stolen cattle and to forfeit all her property. The other prisoners to be flogged, with a cow's hide over their heads, to be placed in chains at public works for six years and forfeit all their property.

[Executed on the 23rd, with exception of the halter round the neck and the branding of first prisoner and the flogging of H. Cornelissen.]

No. 150. 1673, Dec. 8. Mayke van der Berg, free woman, and P. Buylings her servant (notwithstanding their lenient punishment about five months ago). Theft of three sheep of Hottentot breed, the property of the Company. Sentence: to be bound to a post, with a sheep-skin over head, to be severely flogged and banished for life.—Mayke van der Berg with a sheep-skin fastened round her neck with an iron ring, and P. Buylings riveted in chains to public works, with confiscation of all their property.

No. 160. 1674, June 21. Aran, aged 15 or 16, slave of Wouter Mostert. Manslaughter, committed upon a Hottentot of Schacher's kraal (a number of people sitting on the ground near the door of the kitchen; prisoner said he would frighten them, and discharged a gun knowing it was loaded). "An offence of great consequence; not to be tolerated in a land where justice flourishes." Sentence: to be flogged, branded, and to work in chains for life, with expenses.

No. 179. 1678, Sept. 14. The Hottentots Quisa, Comoko, Gamaka, Ore, and Derva, all five Suncquas of the Attiqua kraals, subject to the chief Schacher. Theft and robbery of cattle and sheep: first, some time ago, on Table Mountain, ten sheep of the Widow Trijntje Thenis, alias "the new boerin"; at another time one ox of B. Hendricks; afterwards from the kraal of P. van der Westhuisen, two cows; about six weeks ago, at Steenberg, ten of the Company's sheep; and during the last year two cows the property of Burgerraadt J. Valckenrijck, besides various robberies from cattle-herds, until they were captured, and one of their accomplices killed by Capt. Cuyper; having made it their profession to live by robbery. Sentence: to be hanged and their dead bodies exposed, to forfeit all their property, and to pay costs, etc. [The Minutes state the answer of the prisoners to the Fiscal's charge to have been: *Maski* (i.e. perhaps).]

That the punishments meted out were unduly severe and generally out of all proportion to the offence, was felt by more than one individual. In 1681 Ryckloff van Goens, Governor-general of Netherlands India, called at the Cape, and on his departure left a memorandum for Commander van der Stel, in which he reflects on the administration of justice and the imposition of sentences in the following terms:—

APP. II. I must again call your attention to what the late Mr. N. Verburg has before said upon the dispensation of justice in the Colony; for it appears to us to have grown into a practice to pay very little attention to the formalities and the indispensable proofs in actions at law, but frequently to yield too much to the influence of the passions, and to proceed too readily to infamous punishments, banishment and pecuniary fines which cannot be recovered,—proceedings entirely opposed to the advancement of a poor Colony (which we would be glad to see encouraged), and which tend to awaken the wrath of God. We therefore would most earnestly impress on you this most important subject. For this it is which renders the power and character of the Company so renowned in India; and when the life, the honour or the property of our neighbour is at stake, we should proceed with the last degree of circumspection and with the utmost fear of God before our eyes (MOODIE, "Record," p. 380).

NOTE B.

GEORGE SCHMIDT AND THE COLONISTS.

In the preceding chapter a plain and dispassionate account of Schmidt and his mission has been given. By way of comparison extracts are given from recent chronicles in which Schmidt's life and work are referred to. It will be seen that the language employed is by no means justified by the facts as recounted above.

Extracts from Modern Books and Periodicals.

1. Schmidt arrived [at the Cape] on July 9th, 1737, only to be received with laughter and scorn. The Dutch, who had professed to desire that "their rule might tend to uphold righteousness and to plant and further pure Christian teaching among the natives," had treated the aborigines as beasts. The Boer regarded the blacks as creatures of the devil, as Canaanites doomed to destruction. To offer Christianity to black beasts was not to be dreamed of. It was intended only for white people (FREDERICK PERRY NOBLE, "The Redemption of Africa," Vol. I, p. 432).

2. He [Schmidt] was not well received, and the object of his mission—to elevate the degraded Hottentots by Christianity—was regarded by the Dutch settlers with contempt and derision. His history illustrates the conditions of missionary work at the time—the slight sense which the Christian Church had of its responsibility, and the little sympathy which such work evoked. . . . His work was just beginning when he was ordered out of the country by the Dutch Government. I have read in some of the old Cape Chronicles that he was then deported to Batavia for the crime "of being a great Hottentot converter" (DR. JAMES STEWART, "Dawn in the Dark Continent," p. 83).

3. His [Schmidt's] arrival in Cape Town caused no small stir, exciting the animosity or mockery of many, but securing also the support of some pious men. . . . [At Baviaans Kloof] the opposition to him continued, and when after his ordination, he baptised some of the blacks, it burst into a flame. The Boers could not tolerate it that the Hottentots, *schepsels* or creatures as they called them, should be regarded as men, to whom the sacraments were to be administered (J. E. CARLYLE, "South Africa and its Mission Fields," p. 111).

4. In 1736 Georg Schmidt, the Bohemian Bunyan, after six years' confinement for the truth, was sent forth to the Koi-Koin ("men") and Bushmen, the yellow race of South Africa, whom the Dutch contemptuously called Hottentots, and treated as beasts, until the Moravian missionary and the English Government interfered (DR. GEORGE SMITH, "Short History of Christian Missions," p. 130).

5. He [Schmidt] landed in Cape Town, July 9, 1737. The derision and contempt with which he was received was reflected in the enmity of the farmers fifty miles from the coast, near whom he began his labours among the natives. By the following spring this animosity had driven him thirty miles farther inland (WILSON S. NAYLOR, "Daybreak in the Dark Continent," p. 210).

6. He [Schmidt] arrived at Cape Town, July 9, 1737. How was he received? With scorn and derision. Schmidt established himself on the Sergeant's River, fifty miles back in the country; but, being complained of by hostile farmers as too near the Company's post, he removed the next spring still farther from Cape Town, to the Zondereinde (AUGUSTUS C. THOMPSON, "Moravian Missions," p. 355).

7. When the Moravian missionaries [read "missionary"] dared to receive into baptism five Hottentot converts, the Church in Cape Town rose up in resenting such a piece of mockery as baptising baboons. The result was that those preachers were [read "that preacher was"] driven out of the country (I. W., in a paper "The Natives and their Missionaries" published in "The Christian Express," February, 1908).

8. In Cape Colony, where Moravians tried to work nearly two centuries ago, they were treated as criminals for attempting to reach the blacks ("The Missionary Review of the World," July, 1908, p. 558).

NOTE C.

VAN ZULCH'S WORK AT WAGONMAKER'S VALLEY.

Van Zulch and his work are so fully and sympathetically described in a letter of James Read's, of the London Missionary Society, that the letter in question is here subjoined.

WAGONMAKER'S VALLEY, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
THE 3RD NOVEMBER, 1800.

DEAR SIR!

I enclose two letters from a beloved brother and servant of the Lord Jesus Christ at this place, named Van Zulk (*sic*), to his two daughters in Holland, which you will have the kindness to forward at the earliest opportunity: they contain the news of the death of his wife. Should they address their reply to you, Sir, be so kind as to send on the letter to this place.

Our respected brother Van Zulk was called under Rev. Van Lier, recently minister at the Cape, who was an instrument in God's hand to bring many souls to the Lord Jesus; but his work was soon ended. You will probably have heard of him, as he was well known to Rev. J. Newton.

Brother Van Zulk was brought hither from Cape Town about four years ago, owing to sickness, as the doctor was of opinion that the country air would be beneficial to him; and at first it seemed as if it was, but his illness gradually resulted in such a diminution of strength, that he had few hopes of recovery. He therefore commenced a school for the instruction of the young, and occupied himself with

APP. II. that work until his strength failed him; but in the meantime it pleased God to bless his devout labours to several children.

At his arrival at this place it resembled the valley of Ezechiel, full of dead bones: both white and black, both Christians and heathen, lived without God and without hope in the world. But being a man full of the Holy Ghost and faith, he immediately set to work, and God laboured with him, so that they were soon compelled to build a meeting-house for the heathen, since their numbers increased rapidly, and many of them, whose hearts had been touched, were desirous after the salvation that is in Jesus.

During the last year he was exceedingly weak, and could only address the people now and then. He therefore requested the Society in Cape Town [the South African Missionary Society], to send them one of the first missionaries who might arrive from Europe. The poor heathen, seeing his weakness, and fearing that they were about to lose him and be deprived of his instruction, ranged themselves around him, and cried with tears in their eyes: "Would you leave us? would you leave us? who then will show us, ignorant and blind as we are, the way to heaven?" Until now the Lord has spared him, but I think that his end is near at hand. He is full of courage, and looks forward with longing, though also with submission to God's will, to the time of his departure.

There are here about 300 heathen, chiefly slaves and Hottentots; of whom many not merely show signs of a true change of heart, but are even well established in their faith; and others evince a strong desire to be saved. We have gatherings with them on Sundays at one o'clock, also on Tuesdays and sometimes on Fridays when opportunity offers: with the Christians we have meetings on Wednesdays. Of the former class there are more than of the latter; but among the latter are many young people, among whom, we hope and trust, the Lord will do a good work. Many of the older people have been brought to the Lord by the preaching of Van Zulk, and some even by his conversations with the heathen. There is a great desire to hear the Word, but the faithful labourers are few.

On a recent Sabbath we attended worship at the Paarl, a place about nine miles from here. The people there are at present without a minister, theirs having died. They are ministered to by other pastors, sometimes once a month, sometimes once a fortnight; but as their numbers are too great, they have commenced building a new and roomier church. That day there were hardly fewer than 100 wagons, many of which had come great distances to attend the service.

I am, respected Sir,

With sincere regards,

Your humble Servant in Christ,

J. READ.

[This letter appears (in Dutch, from which it has been re-translated) in "*Gedenkschriften der Maatschappij van Zendelingen*," Deel IV, pp. 197-200.—Dordrecht, 1802.]

NOTE D.

REPORTS ON MISSION WORK AT THE CAPE IN 1799.

Instruction to the Heathen in Cape Town by Brother Petrus Johannes le Roux, at the house of Brother Willem Wydeman, commenced the 9th February, 1798.

The number of hearers, belonging to this House of Instruction, amounts to ninety-five persons, men, women and children; of which eight according to their

own testimony, are seeking the Lord Jesus, and twelve are considerably advanced APP. II. in the knowledge of the Truth.

Instruction to the Heathen, at this place [Cape Town] by Sister C. M. Heysse, born Koning; commenced about eleven months ago.

On Sunday afternoons there are generally thirty to forty persons, freemen as well as slaves, gathered in that House. Among them is a young slave-girl named Eva, to whom (according to her statement) the Lord some time ago revealed the fact, by the Holy Spirit, that she is a sinner; that no one, either she herself or any one else, is able to save her from her misery but the Lord Jesus alone; and she therefore daily, with prayers and supplications, seeks refuge with that Saviour. So far as I know, her conduct is in accord with her professions.—Another slave-girl named Tiny speaks in similar language. Besides these there are five or six others in whom there seems to be some desire, and who show that they hunger and thirst after the sincere milk of the Word.—Among the male slaves there are also two called Adrie in whom, as I trust, God has begun a good work.—There are also among the hearers five or six who can read fairly well; four or five who spell, and reveal a strong desire for further instruction. When asked why they are so set upon learning to read, they reply that they wish to search out what the Lord has to say to them in His Word.

Instruction to the Heathen, in Cape Town, by sister the widow Moller, born Hynings, at the house of brother Schoonberg.

The number of Heathen who from time to time assemble at this House of Instruction amounts to 40 persons. A certain slave, known by the name of Robyn, is best known by the fruits of his faith. The Spirit of Christ has revealed to him how great a sinner he is, so that he continually bows before the throne of grace, and submits like a child to the Lord's guidance.—Two young slave-girls, one called Rosette and the other Salaatje, similarly give continual proof of their hunger and thirst after justification by faith in Christ, without which, they are convinced, there is no salvation for them.—There are also many others who have begun to give attention; but we cannot say what rays of grace the Lord has shed upon their hearts.

In the vicinity of the *village of Stellenbosch* the work of the Lord seems daily to increase, under Christians as well as heathen; and the services which are held for slaves are continued without intermission, as well as the instruction of heathen children in spelling and reading.

In a district of the country of the old *Nimaquays*,¹ the instruction of the ignorant and the heathen is actively carried on.

In another district, called the *Wagonmaker's Valley*, some miles distant from here, the work is continued zealously and with much fruit, by means of divine services, under Christians and heathen, the number of the latter belonging to this place of Instruction being now very large. Brother *Van Zulch* who labours there, and whose bodily powers have been greatly weakened, so that humanly speaking there remains no hope of his recovery, is greatly exercised about his little flock, and is also one of those who heartily hope that, in case any missionaries are sent to this Extremity [i.e. of the African Continent—"dezen Uithoek"], his District may not be left wholly unprovided for.

¹ This is plainly an error, perhaps due to the translator, for *Outeniqualand*, that is, the present district of George.

*APP. II. State of Religion in the Land of Waveren, at the Cape of Good Hope.
(From a Report of the Missionary Society in Cape Town.)*

Roodezand.—The Director Vos, our respected minister, not only labours here with zeal at the instruction of heathen and Christians, by his preaching, catechising, pastoral visitation, etc.; but several other friends of religion, encouraged thereto by him, are also doing their utmost to acquaint the heathen in their own homes and in those of their neighbours with the way of salvation. And this has produced so blessed a result that not only is the Christian congregation in a very flourishing condition, so that several (as we trust) have been truly converted to the Lord, but also some of the heathen have been brought in to the Lord. Among these last are two slaves, belonging to the Rev. Mr. Vos, one named Toontje, born in this land, and the other called Maart, born in Mozambique; also another, belonging to W. du Plessis, named Sedras, likewise from Mozambique. These trees are known by their fruits, and are such as have, rooted in their hearts, love to God and to the Lord Jesus. There are yet other heathen in whom the Lord appears to have commenced a work of grace.

Bokkevelden.—The efforts of our respected minister, Rev. Vos, some time back, and recently those of our worthy fellow-member and Elder, P. van der Merwe, have been followed here by such blessed results that in many families divine service [i.e. family worship] is held with all decorum ("met alle staatelijsheid"); and 317 heathen are being instructed, concerning three of whom we trust that grace has been poured out into their hearts.

Roggeveld.—Here too family worship is conducted in some families, and several heathen are receiving instruction, especially from our worthy brother C. F. N. Heerop, who by the arrangement of our minister holds divine service on Sundays, first for the Christians and then for the heathen, among which latter there are three or four in whom a work of grace appears to have commenced.

Twenty-four Rivers.—In most families here the heathen women are being already instructed by one of our young sisters named Cloje Burger.

Oliphants River, and Seederbergen [Cedar Bergen].—The heathen at Oliphants River who receive instruction are thus far but few families; but our zealous brother Jan M. Kok, at Seederbergen, whose heart is aglow with love to Jesus, exhibits so much diligence that he labours with much success not only among Bastaards and Hottentots, but also among Christians, so that (as he trusts) there are seven heathen and five Christians who are truly concerned about their salvation. In similar manner others are also labouring in their own families.

Houten and Bokkeland.—In these remote parts the religious situation was most deplorable, for there were but a few persons who evinced concern for the interests of their immortal souls. The pastoral visits of our minister, however, who was accompanied by the respected Van der Merwe, during two months, had so blessed a result, that matters are greatly changed for the better, and the heathen are now being instructed in four or five families.

Beyond Breede River.—In this portion of the country there are several Christians who fear the Lord in truth; and in most families the heathen are being instructed in the doctrine of salvation. Some of them prove by their conduct that the Gospel has power over their hearts, and among others there was a young girl who several times offered prayer at the bedside of a lady who lay ill.

Hex River.—In this ward family worship is conducted fairly generally in APP. II. at the various homes. The heathen are, generally speaking, under instruction, especially at the hands of our young brother Jan Jordaan and the young gentleman P. de Vos. For the rest, no report of any unusual fruit on the Word has been received.

Boschjes Velden.—From this place no particulars are to hand, since there has been no opportunity of receiving full reports from there. In this part of the district the monthly prayer-meetings are held.

PIETER FRANÇOIS THERON.

1ST JANUARY, 1800.

NOTE E.

ATTITUDE OF THE FARMERS TOWARD THE MORAVIAN MISSIONARIES.

In Schneider's pages a story is told of how in February, 1796, a party of "Nationals," as the republican burghers of Swellendam called themselves, threatened Baviaans Kloof with destruction.

On the 14th Febr., 1796, Theunissen suddenly sent a message to the Brethren that in the course of the next night, or next but one, a detachment of Boers (farmers) would probably make its appearance at Baviaans Kloof. Whether they intended to destroy the station or not, he could not say. This strange notice had the effect of inducing a large number of Hottentots to hasten to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, partly on foot and partly on horseback. The Landdrost in turn informed General Craig, and prayed for speedy assistance. Of this, however, the Boers also got wind—more than 180 had united to carry out this clever plot—and they decided to postpone the completion of their scheme to a more suitable time. The main features of the plot were: to demand of the missionaries an assurance on oath that they would immediately leave Baviaans Kloof, and return finally to Europe via Cape Town. In case they should refuse to promise this, they were to be immediately shot. Shooting was to be in any case the lot of the older Hottentots, while the younger ones, who could work, were to be distributed among the Boers, and taken with them to their farms. . . . Immediately after receiving notice of this design Maj.-Gen. Craig devised means for frustrating it; but these means, however well-meant and effective, were not an unmixed blessing for Genadendal. He established a military outpost near Theunissen's in the Zoetemelks Vlei, which was manned by a staff of Dragoon officers and a corresponding number of men.¹

This story, or a similar one, is repeated by Hamilton,² by Stewart,³ by Noble,⁴ and in "Geschiedverhaal van Genadendal"⁵ Noble says briefly:—

Despite Dutch malignity and opposition the missionaries had proof that the mission was divinely planted. . . . The Boers maintained that the missionaries taught the natives every crime, and ought to be put to death. A hundred farmers armed to murder the Brethren, and were only stopped by the English general (1796). The British protectorate curbed persecution. Annexation killed it.

Barrow, whose prejudice against the colonists carried him to extreme lengths, gives the following version. After describing the mission at Baviaans Kloof as he saw it in 1797, he continues:—

¹ Schneider, pp. 146, 147.

² Op. cit., p. 280.

³ "Dawn in the Dark Continent," p. 84.

⁴ "The Redemption of Africa," Vol. I, p. 439.

⁵ P. 26.

APP. II. It would be expected that men like these, so truly respectable in their missionary character, and so irreproachable in their conduct, would be well received and encouraged in any country. Yet such is the brutality and gross depravity of the peasantry of this colony, that a party consisting of about thirty had entered into a confederacy to murder the three teachers, and to seize and force into their service all the young Hottentots that might be found at the place. These horrid wretches had actually assembled at a neighbouring house on the Saturday evening, intending on the following day, in the middle of divine service, to carry their murderous purposes into execution. Luckily for the missionaries, they had intimation of what was going on through a Hottentot, who deserted the service of one of the intended assassins for that purpose. They laid their apprehensions before Sir James Craig, who in consequence issued his injunctions, in a letter to the overseer of the post of Zoete Melk Valley, that no inhabitant should in any shape molest the Hernhüters, on pain of incurring the heaviest displeasure of the government. The letter arrived on the very day they were assembled, and the poltroons, on hearing it read, sneaked off each to his own home, and the missionaries since that time have continued to exercise their functions unmolested. The cause of the farmers' hatred to these people is their having taught the Hottentots the use of their liberty, and the value of their labour, of which they had long been kept in ignorance.¹

The impartial student of the history of this period finds it hard to credit the statements of Schneider, who founds upon the "Journals" of the Brethren, and of Barrow. Three streams of evidence call here for consideration.

1. The position of affairs in the Colony must first be considered. On 16 September, 1795, the last of the Governors of the Dutch East India Company had surrendered the country to General Craig. The whole Colony was then in a state of confusion, and at least two sections of the inhabitants (the burghers of Graaff Reinet and of Swellendam) had established what they called "National Assemblies," and professed to have thrown off the yoke of the detested Company. General Craig was a cautious and pacific ruler, and did much to quiet the minds of the rebellious burghers, and to persuade them to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England. Many, however, refused to do so; and it may have been a party of these irreconcilables whose proximity to Baviaans Kloof the missionaries construed as a threat against their lives and those of the Hottentots. Or it is possible, nay, probable, as Theunissen maintained (Schneider, p. 146), that the whole tale was a fabrication of the Hottentots.

2. Important evidence is borne by Lichtenstein, who visited Baviaans Kloof in 1803. His words are as follows:—

In the meantime, that is in the year 1794, those unfortunate dissensions broke out among the colonists, the destructive consequences of which were fortunately superseded by the English invasion; but the sad effects of their discords spread even to this peaceful vale. The whole institution was a subject of offence to the surrounding colonists, partly because they did not see their own strong

¹ "Travels in Southern Africa," Vol. I, pp. 311, 312.

Calvinistic doctrines taught in it; but still more because they found themselves APP. II. restrained in extending their lands, and were in some measure deprived of the services of the Hottentots, for the latter preferred leading a quiet life among the Herrenhuters, to attending the sheep and oxen of the farmers. It was to these causes that the enmity of the colonists towards the Brethren mentioned by Mr. Barrow is to be ascribed; but this gentleman suffers his zeal against the colonists to get too great an ascendancy over him, when he represents their enmity as having been carried to such lengths, that a conspiracy was formed among them to murder the missionaries. I have myself been assured by the missionaries themselves that they never heard of such a thing; they only, by way of precaution, petitioned Sir James Craig, in the year 1796, to grant them a confirmation of their rights, and security against the encroachments with which they were menaced. Since that time, excepting some trifling disputes about the boundaries of their lands, they have lived upon very good terms with the colonists. They are universally esteemed, and I have myself more than once seen a considerable number of colonists attending at the religious assemblies of the Brethren.¹

3. Finally, it must be mentioned, in disproof of the charges of Barrow and Schneider against the colonists, that the official records of the time contain no such communication as is referred to from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to the Governor. Moreover, the assertion that the means employed by the latter to frustrate the plot of the farmers was the establishment of a military outpost at Zoetemelks Vlei rests upon a complete misconception. Zoetemelks Vlei had always been a cattle-post of the Netherlands Company, and when the country passed into the hands of the English, a detachment of dragoons was stationed there, not only because of the excellent pasturage, but also to keep in check those restless spirits who still adhered to their republican ideas. This distribution of soldiers over the country was part of the policy of the new Government. "Quartering dragoons upon offenders holding Jacobin principles was the ordinary method with Lord Macartney of 'bringing them to reason'."²

These considerations, accordingly, must lead us to look upon the story of a threatened attack on the lives of the Brethren by the neighbouring colonists as wholly unfounded, and the denunciatory language of Barrow and his modern followers as wholly unjust.

NOTE F.

PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR J. W. JANSENS,³ 20 FEBRUARY, 1805.

Whereas the American ship the "Silenus," Captain King, lately arrived here from the Netherlands, and brought with her from the Missionary Society at Rotterdam some missionaries, among whom there is in the first place the regularly Ordained Minister of the Reformed religion, Mr. Kicherer, purposing to instruct and to promote religion and cultivation among the Heathen in the interior

¹ Lichtenstein: "Travels in Southern Africa," Vol. I, pp. 152-3.

² Theal: "History since 1795," Vol. I, p. 28.

³ "Transactions of the (London) Miss. Soc.," Vol. II, pp. 233 *seqq.*

APP. II. of the Cape, and whereas the Commissary General, Mr. J. A. de Mist, in his ordinance for the Church of the 25th July, 1804, in the 14th article, has established the following :—

“ All those that arrive from the Netherlands upon any authority, and make themselves known, as intending to proceed under the name of Missionaries among the heathen nations beyond the boundaries of this Colony, and to instruct them in religion and cultivation, deserve for such a laudable undertaking every necessary assistance, encouragement and aid from Government ; ”

So it is : that the Governor and the Members of the Board of Police, wishing to adhere to the regulation of the Representative of the Batavian Republic, and thinking it their duty as much as possible to promote his good arrangements for the benefit of this Colony, and to watch that useful regulations obtain no tendency prejudicial to society, have thought necessary to promote the intention of the Missionaries in this Cape by establishing the following :—

1. That all Missionaries, who are upon a legal authority in this Colony, have freedom to proceed into the interior of this Cape for the purpose of teaching and promoting religion and cultivation among the heathen nations.
2. That this however be done at such a distance beyond the boundaries of this Colony, established by Government, that their schools have no communication with the inhabitants upon these boundaries, much less with those that live within them, either Christians or Heathen.
3. That in the schools and meetings to be formed by the Missionaries for the Natives, nobody who has residence within this Colony, and belonging to the common population, be permitted ; unless he has obtained for it express leave from the Governor, which leave can never be obtained except in the event of absolute necessity.
4. That all Missionaries, before they proceed to the interior of the country, have to make themselves known to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and also to mention the place where they intend to settle themselves, in which case they obtain a certificate from him, in which such place or district is expressed, in order that Government may know at all times where the Missionaries are labouring.
5. That all Missionaries be obliged to send to Government at every convenient opportunity a written account of the state of their schools, in order to know what effect the cultivation of the Natives has had through their care ; from what they get their subsistence ; what cattle and other things they possess ; the nature of the soil which they occupy and plough ; the climate, etc.
6. That the limits of the Colony be provisionally established for this purpose thus : The utmost point of the Colony shall be to the north, the west coast at the mouth of the Coussie river,¹ about 29° 30' south latitude : the course of this river to its springs at the commencement of the Copper mountains shall be the northern limit ; this limit shall go farther south-eastwardly in a straight line, following however the natural course of the mountains, and including the utmost habitations of the colonists to that part of the Zak river where it unites itself with the Reed river. The Zak river from hence to its sources and the mountains of the New-fields shall be the farther limit, which shall continue the course of the mountains along the north part of the great Karroo, due east and west to the foot of the Snow mountains : the limit to the

¹ Now called the Buffels River.

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north shall include the great mountain called the *Tafelberg*, and continue to the Seacow river, where the beacon of Plettenberg is placed, further proceeding along the west part of the Bamboes mountains, including the whole Tarka Hoek. Finally, the Tarka and Kaka mountains to the confluence of the Baviaans and Great Fish river; and this river continuing to the mouth shall separate the Colony from the country of the Caffers.

7. That the Missionaries, who proceed to the places of their destination or return from them, as well regularly ordained ministers as others, be prohibited to officiate within the Colony, without having leave from the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, or from the vestry of the district in which they intend to officiate.
8. That Mr. Kicherer, one of the Missionaries, having established a school for the Natives on this side of the Zak river, shall be permitted to continue in his institution upon the following terms:—
 - (a) That the county sheriff of Tulbagh be directed to show him the circumference in which the school must be confined.
 - (b) That concerning this circumference the same arrangements must take place respecting the surrounding inhabitants of the Colony, as are established in the 2nd, 3rd and 5th articles of this proclamation, respecting those that are beyond the limits of this Colony.
9. That the Moravian establishment at the Baviaans Kloof, which has endeavoured to act in all respects according to the intention of the Government, may continue there also, with the recommendation to impress upon the Natives, as much as possible, industry, and to convince them of the bad consequences proceeding from idleness. The Moravians however have to take care not to seduce any Native or Bastard from the service of their masters to their institution.
10. That the institution of Dr. van der Kemp, established upon legal authority at Bethelsdorp, be also permitted to remain within the foregoing limits, but upon the following conditions:—
 - (a) That neither the Missionary Van der Kemp, nor any of his fellow Missionaries belonging to the institution at Bethelsdorp, shall be permitted to go without a special consent from the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, or from the County Sheriff of Uitenhage, out of the limits of the Colony.
 - (b) That only wandering Hottentots, or others, who from this institution have gone into the service of the inhabitants, shall be permitted to receive instruction; but no Hottentots who are actually serving the inhabitants, or have served them in the course of the preceding year, be permitted to be received in it.
11. No instruction in writing, as this is not absolutely necessary in the commencement of cultivation, shall be permitted in the schools already established, or that may be established hereafter; but this instruction shall be postponed till express licence from the Governor and Commander-in-Chief be obtained for it.
12. That, as far as the capacity of the Natives is fit for comprehending the first ideas of social order such as exists in the mother-country and in this Colony, the missionaries be obliged to teach them, and the Missionaries be prohibited to pray openly in the institutions already established, or that may be established hereafter, for any other power or government, than for that of the Batavian Republic and this Colony.
13. Upon these conditions and stipulations, which the present state of the

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Colony has made necessary to establish, and which only are established to have a tendency to promote the intentions of the Missionary institutions, all possible aid and assistance will be given to the Missionaries in this Colony; and we expect that each of them will endeavour to act accordingly, because a conduct contrary to these regulations would compel Government to take serious measures to enforce them.

And in order that no person may pretend ignorance of the contents of this proclamation, it shall be published and fixed up at all places where usually proclamations are published and affixed; and further, a copy of this proclamation, as well as the established ordinance of the Church above mentioned, shall be given by the Secretary to each Missionary who wishes to have it.

Resolved and decreed in the Board of Police at the Cape of Good Hope, Febr. 20th, 1805, and published the day following.

(Signed) J. W. JANSENS, *Governor, etc.*
J. A. TRUTER, *Secretary.*

NOTE G.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE COLONISTS TOWARDS THE NATIVES AND MISSION WORK.

Beginning with Dr. van der Kemp and Mr. Read, missionaries of various Societies have frequently animadverted with extreme severity upon the hostile attitude of colonists, both Dutch and (at a later stage) English, towards natives and native missions; and their strong expressions have been reiterated by writers on missions who have in many cases made no independent effort to arrive at the truth of the matter. It is but just that one or two witnesses, whose testimony points the other way, should receive a hearing.

Mr. Kicherer, one of the first band of London missionaries, whose character and zeal entitle him to a place in the front rank of South African pioneer missionaries, and whose testimony is therefore above suspicion, says:—

The more moral and serious [Dutch colonists] gave me every assistance in their power, and I can never be sufficiently thankful for it. Those who opposed us were generally uncivilised and ungodly men, who were laid astray by our enemies, and pretended to suspect me of political views. The better sort of settlers instruct their Hottentots and their slaves; and through their instrumentality some have been savingly converted. But those farmers who are notoriously wicked are afraid that the Heathen will become too wise by instruction, and so reprove them for their wicked works.

It may be here observed that the Hottentots are not slaves: they receive wages for their labour, more or less, as they live near the Cape or farther distant; or, as labourers happen to be scarce or the work heavy. Near the Cape they get from five to eight rix-dollars for one journey to Cape Town; in the back settlements, from six to eight sheep per year. Most Hottentots hire themselves out for a year; but the Colonists, under various pretences, attempt to keep them beyond their time if they stand in need of them. Severe floggings are given on occasion by unjust masters; but, on the other hand, some of the Hottentots are so rude and refractory, that they deserve very severe correction. (*Kicherer's "Narrative of his Mission to the Hottentots" (1803), p. 42.*)

Turning from the Hottentots to the Kafir tribes, we have an APP. II. unimpeachable witness in the Rev. *Henry Calderwood*, originally a missionary of the London Society, but so greatly respected and trusted that he was appointed Gaika Commissioner by Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland. Calderwood says:—

Many in Britain are still under the impression that the cause of Caffre wars lies with the Colonists or Government, or both, but not with the Caffres. I once thought so myself, but, speaking of the last thirty-nine years [this was written in 1858], I am now satisfied that such impressions are unfounded, and originate either in want of information, or prejudice, or preconceived political views.

. . . That individual colonists of the lower sort have acted unjustly and injuriously towards natives with whom they have come into contact, and that there are colonists who, if they had power, would for their own selfish and sinister ends, involve the country in war, cannot be disputed, and may be frankly admitted. But that either Government or the Colonists generally have been the cause of Caffre wars within the long period named, is a pure fiction, without any foundation in truth. Bands of armed men, turbulent and discontented, have from time to time, whether with or without good cause I shall not here attempt to say, gone beyond the immediate control of British power. That these men have often acted oppressively towards the natives, and that their conduct has been calculated to excite suspicion regarding the motives of all white men, there can be very little doubt. But the great mass of peaceful and respectable Colonists ought not to be confounded with these men. (Calderwood's "Caffres and Caffre Missions," pp. 48, 49.)

The bearing of *individual* white men towards the Caffres, in their dealings with them, is often irritating and very injudicious; but the idea that the Colonists under the British Government could, if they wished it, oppress the natives, is utterly ridiculous. Never were any people more protected by laws which all may read, than the natives in and near the Cape Colony now are. They know these laws well. As to masters and servants, why, masters in the Colony, independent of any law to prevent them, cannot oppress their servants. Labour is far too scarce to admit of the oppression of servants of any class, whether English, Caffre, or Hottentot. If there be oppression at all, the employers suffer it, while the servants are to a great extent the masters. Masters and mistresses must mind their manners, else servants very soon leave them, and let them help themselves. At the same time it ought to be admitted that, among both Caffres and Hottentots, there are many excellent servants. (Calderwood, op. cit., p. 60.)

NOTE H.

DISSENT FROM DR. PHILIP'S VIEWS AND POLICY ON THE PART OF A LONDON MISSIONARY.

The following extracts from the unpublished Journal (in the author's possession) of Rev. George Barker, missionary at Theopolis and at Bethelsdorp, are sufficient proof that Philip's polemical methods did not commend themselves to all his missionary colleagues. Mr. Barker was one of the oldest and most respected missionaries of the London Society, and arrived at the Cape as early as 1815.

APP. II. March 8, 1821.—In the evening Br. Read came to Theopolis with his family. Conversed with Br. Read respecting missionary affairs, who told me the aim of Dr. Philip in writing, that he had commission to inquire into the state of things, etc.; but I did not approve of either.

March 9, 1821.—Had more conversation with Br. Read but cannot agree with his sentiments on some points, nor with what he tells me of the proceedings of Dr. P[hilip].

May 22, 1821.—Received a list of the complaints of the people, which Mr. Read had taken down when here, and represented to the Governor. This list I had not seen before, nor was I present when they [i.e. the complaints] were brought forward. It appeared, from the tenor of the letter that came with this list, that Mr. Read wished me to defend his representations; but as he usurped authority in my charge, contrary to my advice, and said he was commissioned by Dr. Philip so to do, I cannot interfere with them. The list contained several inaccuracies and one gross falsehood.

The following three extracts refer to Dr. Philip's charges, made at a public meeting of the Society for the Relief of the Distressed Settlers, in Cape Town, on 18 August, 1824, against the Landdrost of Albany, Mr. Harry Rivers. Dr. Philip affirmed that "the Landdrost had neither the time to permit him to attend to the objects of the Society, nor had he the inclination," and instanced a special case which he maintained proved the indifference of the local authority to the distresses of the Settlers. Mr. Rivers took the question up and proved to demonstration that the charges were wholly unfounded.—See "Records" of Cape Colony, Vol. XVIII, pp. 362-402.

Oct. 25, 1824.—Read the pamphlet published by Mr. Rivers against the assertions of the Rev. Dr. Philip and Mr. H. E. Rutherford at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers, held at Cape Town on 18 August. After reading it was much affected, and felt a great deal for Dr. Philip and the cause of missions. It would have been better if he had had nothing to do with the settlers, and for all, if that Society had not been made a political thing of.

Nov. 2, 1824.—Read Mr. Pugh's letter to Dr. Philip on the subject of his assertion at the public meeting of Aug. 18. I fear Dr. Philip has ruined his own character, if not the character of the Society.

Nov. 16, 1824.—Just as I was leaving Grahamstown, Mr. Thornhill, a settler, and lately from Cape Town, accosted me very seriously on the subject of an accommodation between Dr. Philip and Mr. Rivers, etc. He advised me to write to Dr. Philip on the subject; but alas! what can I do more than weep for the cause. I can see nothing which can result from the unfortunate dispute but the destruction of Dr. Philip's character and the character of the Society.

NOTE I.

VIEWS OF KAFRARIAN MISSIONARIES ON DR. PHILIP'S INFLUENCE.

This interference of Dr. Philip in the affairs of Kafferland was not warranted by any extensive missionary connection with that country. The London Mission had, at that time, one missionary station connected with a very small tribe near the frontier. . . . From the language employed by this gentleman and his colleague, Mr. Read, while in England, the public must have been led to suppose that all

Kafferland was under their pastoral care; whereas the London Society has APP. II. hitherto found sufficient employment for its missionaries within the Colony, and amongst the Griquas and Bechuanas to the northward. Even now, Oct. 1838, the London Missionary Society has only two stations in Kaffraria, while the Glasgow missionaries occupy five stations near the frontier. The Wesleyan Mission stations are nine in number, and extend from the Fish River to the Zimvoobo, a distance of 300 miles from the Colony; and the opportunities afforded to the Wesleyan missionaries for acquiring information respecting Kafferland, are of course much greater than those enjoyed by others who occupy a comparatively confined locality. When Mr. Read boasted at Sheffield,—“We have 300,000 Kaffers,” he might with equal truth have said,—“We have 300,000 Esquimaux”. He should have stated what he and his colleagues in Kafferland had done for the benefit of so numerous a flock. He had helped to deprive them of the Kat River lands, and had thus been indirectly concerned in involving them and the Colony in the late ruinous contest (REV. W. B. BOYCE, “Notes on South African Affairs,” p. 14).

The last sentence refers to an act of Governor Sir Lowry Cole’s, by which the Kafir chief Makoma had been expelled, in 1829, from the territory bordering on the Kat River, in order that a colony of Hottentots—the overflow of the Bethelsdorp mission—might be settled there. Makoma was greatly incensed at this treatment, and his expulsion was one of the causes which assisted in precipitating the war of 1834-35.

NOTE J.

VIEW OF KAFRARIAN MISSIONARIES AS TO CAUSES OF THE WAR OF 1834-35.

I will state at once, and in the most explicit terms, that I do not regard these lamentable collisions as the result of any intentional injustice on the part of the Colonial Government, and much less as the effect of any generally oppressive conduct indulged by the British settlers towards the border tribes. Of course, the few acts of individual wrong or injustice which may have been perpetrated, I neither wish to justify nor to palliate; but I am now speaking of the behaviour of the mass of the settlers towards the Kaffir people, previously to the outburst of the first Kaffir war in 1834. I know that in thus stating the case I shall appear, to some of my readers at least, as recording an opinion very materially differing from the representations made by other writers on the same topic, who have generally been regarded, from their position and supposed knowledge of the facts, to be most trustworthy authorities. I am also aware that I must encounter the disapproval of many persons in this country, who have been accustomed to view the Kaffirs as so many harmless sheep attacked from time to time by ravening wolves, in the form of an oppressive race of British colonists. But as my opinion has been honestly formed, after a long and minute acquaintance with the subject, I would respectfully submit that there has been very much misapprehension in certain circles on this point.—REV. WILLIAM SHAW, Wesleyan Superintendent, in “The Story of My Mission,” p. 135.

We felt it to be our bounden duty in justice to all parties concerned,—to the Governor, to the public at home and in the Colony, to our own Societies, and to ourselves—to state, not as a matter of doubtful opinion, but from our certain knowledge, that the Kaffers were in this war the aggressors, and that the war was

APP. II. just on the part of the Colony, because a war of self-defence and of absolute necessity;—and further, that this war was carried on by His Excellency in strict accordance with the principles of justice and mercy.

Our competence, from local knowledge, to form a correct opinion on the subject cannot be questioned; and, not to plead that the same opinions have been expressed in much stronger language than we ever used by some of the Scotch missionaries of the Glasgow Society, in speeches at a public meeting, a report of which was furnished by themselves to the editor of a colonial journal,—yet we may remark that our prejudices in favour of a people among whom we trust to spend no small portion of our lives, together with our complete independence of colonial support and control, are sufficient guarantees to all impartial persons that we could be under no temptation of yielding to the influence of local prejudices or temporary excitement. Connected as we are with England, and fully aware of the generous impulses of popular feeling (although in this case misdirected), the temptation, if any, was calculated to bias us on the side which in our native country is deemed to be exclusively that of justice and humanity.

Extract from a Document signed by the following Wesleyan missionaries:
R. HADDY, SAMUEL PALMER, JOHN AYLIFF, WM. SHEPSTONE, W. B. BOYCE,
WM. J. DAVIS, HENRY H. DUGMORE.

(Quoted in Boyce's "Notes on South African Affairs," App., pp. iii, iv.)

In Boyce's "Notes" testimonies are also given, agreeing with the views of the Wesleyan missionaries, from : Revs. M'Cleland and Heavyside (Anglican), Laing and Chalmers (Glasgow Society), Brownlee (London Missionary Society), Davies (Baptist Society) and Bonatz (Moravian Brethren). (Op. cit., Appendix, pp. vi-x.)

NOTE K.

LIST OF WESLEYAN MISSIONARIES AND THEIR STATIONS IN 1839.

(From *Barnabas Shaw's "Memorials," p. 309.*)

I. THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE DISTRICT.

Cape Town and Wynberg : Thomas L. Hodgson, Richard Haddy, James Smeeth, James Goodrick.

Somerset, etc.: Edward Edwards.

Kamiesberg (Little Namaqualand): Joseph Jackson, Jr.

Nisbett Bath (Great Namaqualand): Edward Cook. One wanted.

Damaras: Two wanted.

II. THE ALBANY DISTRICT.

Grahamstown and Lower Albany: William Shaw, John Richards, William Impey.

Salem and Farmerfield: James Archbell.

Port Elizabeth: John Appleyard.

Fort Beaufort: John Smith.

Winterberg: John Ayliff.

III. THE KAFFRARIA DISTRICT.

i. *Amakosae.*

Newtontdale and Lower Albany: William B. Boyce.

Beka Station and Fingoo Mission: William Shepstone.

Wesleyville and Mount Coke : James Thomas.
 Butterworth : One to be sent.
 Amavelelo : William H. Garner.

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2. *Amatembu.*

Clarkeberg : Francis Gladwin.
 Colosa : George H. Green.
 Morley : Samuel Palmer.

3. *Amapondo.*

Buntingville : Thomas Jenkins.
 From the Zimvooboo to the Zimkolo (Faku and Capai's tribes) : Henry H. Dugmore, Horatio Pearse.

4. *Amazulu.*

Port Natal : Two are requested.

IV. THE BECHUANA DISTRICT.

Thaba Nchu (Barolongs) : James Cameron, Richard Giddy.
 Plat Berg (Newlanders) : One wanted.

Mantatee Country.

Umpukani : John Edwards.
 Mparani : James Allison (asst. missionary).
 Mating : Francis Taylor.
 Inkatla (Basutos) : William C. Holden.
 The Corannas (Hans Kapteyn) } Missionaries wanted.
 The Corannas (Gnyp) }
 The Griquas (Barend) : George Bingham.

NOTE L.

CESSION OF GROUND TO THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY BY
MOSHESH AND SIKONYELA.

This indenture made this 17th day of July in the year of our Lord 1834, between Moshesh, chief of the Basutos, and Sikonyela, chief of the Mantatis, on the first part, and the Rev. James Archbell and the Rev. John Edwards on the second part, other trustees from among the inhabitants of the ground bought to be hereinafter added.

Whereas the said Moshesh and Sikonyela have agreed with the said Rev. James Archbell and Rev. John Edwards for the absolute sale to them of the country hereinafter particularly mentioned, at or for the price of 8 head of horned cattle, 34 sheep and 5 goats;

And whereas the said country hath been so purchased as aforesaid for the purpose of establishing thereon a Mission Station for the use of preachers who are and may be members of the Methodist Conference, as established by the late Rev. John Wesley, and of the Society of Methodists in connection with them, and for the use of the people who from time to time shall be actual residents therein, and the said purchase cattle hath been raised by voluntary contributions from individuals belonging to the said Society, and it hath been agreed that the country so purchased shall be conveyed upon Trusts hereafter declared;

APP. II. Now this indenture witnesseth that in pursuance of the said agreement, and in consideration of the payment of 8 head of horned cattle, 34 sheep and 5 goats aforesaid to them, Moshesh and Sikonyela by the Rev. James Archbell and the Rev. James Edwards and others hereafter to be added to their numbers of the second part, at or before the sealing or delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof they, the said Moshesh and Sikonyela do hereby admit and acknowledge;

They, the said Moshesh and Sikonyela, hath granted, bargained and sold, and by these presents do grant, bargain and sell, unto the said Rev. James Archbell and the Rev. John Edwards and the other persons hereafter to be named as Trustees, their Heirs and Assigns, all that Country situated round the mountain called Platberg, reaching on the north to the poort called Leeuw Poort: from thence in a line to Leeuw River, which is the boundary on the west and south to its junction with the river called the Caledon, which latter forms the boundary on the east and south till it passes the poort called Leeuw Poort, the northern boundary. This and all and singular, the rights, members and appurtenances to the said country belonging or in any way appertaining, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, and the rents, profits and issues thereof, and all the estate, right and title, interest, use, trust, property, possession, claim and demand whatsoever, both at law and equity of them, the said Moshesh and Sikonyela of, in, to or out of the same;

To have and to hold the said country hereby bargained or sold, or intended so to be, with the appurtenances, unto and to the use of the said Rev. James Archbell, Rev. John Edwards and others to be hereafter added as Trustees, their heirs and assigns for ever.

And this indenture further witnesseth that they, the several persons, parties hereto of the second part, do hereby jointly and severally and for their joint and several heirs, executors, or administrators, covenant, declare and agree with and to the members of the Methodist Conference aforesaid, and their successors for the time being, in the manner following—that is to say that they, the Rev. James Archbell, Rev. John Edwards and others to be hereafter added to their number as Trustees of the second part, and the survivor and survivors of them, their heirs and assigns of such survivors, shall and will stand seized of and interested in the said country herein bargained and sold, or intended so to be, upon and for the trusts, interests and purposes of, and subject to the direction of, the aforesaid Methodist Conference and their successors for the time being. Provided that by these presents nothing herein stated is to tend or in the least sanction the removal of the Basutos and Mantatis and other natives already resident in the aforesaid country.

As witness our hands this 17th day of July in the year of our Lord 1834.

On the first part {
Mark x of MOSHESH.
Mark x of SIKONYELA.

On the second part {
(signed) JAMES ARCHBELL.
(signed) JOHN EDWARDS.

Witnesses:

Mark x of JACOB VAN WIJK.

Mark x of HANS DE VRIEZ.

Mark x of GERT DE VRIEZ.

NOTE M.

STEEDMAN'S TESTIMONY TO THE INFLUENCE OF THE MISSIONARIES.

Writing at the close of the war of 1834-35 Andrew Steedman, the traveller, bears the following testimony to the salutary influence

of missionaries and mission stations during the troublous period the APP. II. Colony had just passed through :—

It will, no doubt, be inquired: where now is the influence that Christianity has been said to exercise over the minds of these people, and what have the Missionaries accomplished for Caffraria, seeing that the natives appear the same sanguinary men, and that deeds as savage and relentless have marked the present invasion, as any that have characterized their former history.

To this it may be replied, that the operation of Christian principles over a savage mind is usually slow and gradual, and that the labours of a few missionaries among so vast a population, who from their pastoral habits are of necessity scattered over an immense tract of country, could not reasonably be expected, in so short a period, to have effected any great change over the body of the people; nevertheless, amongst that portion which the missionaries have been enabled to assemble together for instruction at the different stations, the effects have been most cheering and satisfactory. It is said that not one individual who had embraced the doctrines of the Bible has joined his countrymen in their invasion of the Colony; they have all to a man reprobated the measure as pregnant with the greatest evil, and as calculated to produce the most fatal consequences throughout the country; and have chosen rather to suffer, with their teachers and friends, the destruction of their property, and even to risk their lives in the protection of their benefactors, than become partakers in the spoils taken from the Colonists.

It is a pleasing and important feature in the history of this calamitous affair, that not less than *one hundred lives of British subjects* have been preserved from impending destruction though the influence of the Missionaries, aided by the exertions of their faithful followers; and if any additional evidence be required to establish the fact that great advantages have resulted from the labours of these devoted men, the plain and impartial statements in the foregoing pages of an individual unconnected with sect or party, of scenes which came immediately under his own observation, cannot but afford a convincing proof of their utility.

Thus it is evident that the reason why a greater influence has not been exerted over the various tribes inhabiting the country, is that the missionary efforts have been conducted on a scale far too contracted for such a vast population. Had the whole country been brought under the same moral cultivation as at the missionary institutions we should not now have to deplore the loss of life and sacrifice of property which this terrible calamity has occasioned. Few can have perused the statements contained in these pages, in reference to the degraded character of the people, without feeling impressed with the conviction, that nothing short of imparting the Gospel to the entire population will render them a peaceable and happy people ("Wanderings and Adventures," Vol. II, p. 357).

NOTE N.

THE ASSIMILATION OF CHRISTIAN TRUTH BY THE NATIVE MIND.

A.—(Extract from Casalis: "The Basutos," pp. 85 seqq.).

The knowledge of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity was now spreading fast: our preaching was listened to with the greatest interest, and

APP. II. we were often surprised to hear what we had said repeated in language full of force and freshness. On one occasion one of us having explained these words of the prophet-king: "Righteousness and peace have kissed each other," a Mosuto asked if God could not have shown mercy to sinners without requiring satisfaction for their offences; to which his companion replied: "No more than I should pardon you, if you had had the impertinence to spit in my face".

A second answered more reasonably: "When a mantle is torn, do we say to the two pieces, join yourselves together again? No, but we get some kind of thread which serves to sew them together. Adam was at first at peace with his Creator, because he was just and pure like Him who made him in His image, but afterwards, what happened? Satan put sin between Adam and Jehovah: thus war was kindled. Now if Jesus has appeared and put away sin, He has taken away the disagreement, and peace returns to its former place. Does not Jesus thus become the thread which unites the pieces of the torn mantle? In Him, the justice which says, Strike the guilty, and the love which cries, Spare the man, have kissed each other, like two old enemies that have become reconciled."

"All that is very beautiful," added he who had put the question, "but then, why do our hearts refuse to obey?" And he covered his face with his hands, and breathed a sorrowful sigh.

"My heart," said another native, "is like the bed of the river that has been dried up by having its waters turned into a different channel. The former bed is filled with sand, grass and brushwood. Now God will turn the river into its old course, but what difficulties are there to be surmounted? The waters of His teachings run but slowly in me, and as soon as they enter are lost in a heap of rubbish."

"God has said to the sun, Give light to men, and the sun has obeyed: He has said to the rivers, Flow, and they have flowed: to the grass, Grow, and it has grown: to the animals, Be under the dominion of man, and they have respected His command. He has said to man, Love Me, and man has refused to obey Him."

B.—(Extract from Backhouse: "Narrative of a Visit," p. 382).

At Thaba Bossiou a converted man of the name of Moses said, at the conclusion of a long interview: "You have come from a far country, and have brought me a small loaf of the bread of life; I have eaten it, and am surprised how much it has satisfied me. How much it tastes like the Lord's bread! I want to praise Him for this, but I have nothing to praise Him with. I am a child of the sepulchre. I have been shut up in a dark house where no light could penetrate; but now, the door has been opened, and I have seen the light which my poor fathers never saw.

"When I first heard the teachers, I thought these men brought strange news, and said, I will never believe them. But I did not know that the Lord was stronger than I, and could bring me not only to believe, but even to love that which at first I hated. Now I can look up to heaven, where I never looked before, and long for the arrival of that time when, having on the *kaross* of Jesus, I shall be admitted to His presence, in that happy place which I now regard as my true home and resting place."

NOTE O.

APP. II.

DECLARATION OF PIETER RETIEF.

GRAHAMSTOWN, 22nd January, 1837.

We quit this Colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in the future.

We propose, in the course of our journey and on arriving in the country in which we shall permanently settle, to make known to the native tribes our intentions, and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them.

We are resolved, wherever we go, to uphold the first principles of liberty; but while we shall take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve the proper relations between master and servant.

We solemnly declare that we leave this country with a desire to enjoy a quieter life than we have hitherto had. We shall not molest any people nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects to the utmost of our ability, against every enemy.

We despair of saving this Colony from those evils which threaten it in the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants, who are allowed to infest the country in every part; nor do we see any prospect of peace or happiness for our children in a country thus distracted by internal commotions.

We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.

We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have for years endured from the Kaffirs and other coloured classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the Colony, which has desolated the frontier districts and ruined most of the inhabitants.

We complain of the unjustifiable odium which, under the name of religion, has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favour; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country.

We are now leaving the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just, and merciful God, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavour to obey.

In the name of all who leave this Colony with me,

P. RETIEF.

NOTE P.

CESSION OF PORT NATAL TO RETIEF BY DINGAAN.

UMKUGINGS SLOAVE [UMGUNGUNHLOVU], 4 FEB. 1838.

Know all men by this—That whereas Pieter Retief, Governor of the Dutch Emigrant South Afrikans, has retaken my Cattle, which Sinkonyella had stolen; which cattle he, the said Retief, now delivers unto me: I, Dingaan, King of the Zoolas, do hereby certify and declare that I thought fit to resign unto him, Retief, and his countrymen (on reward of the case hereabove mentioned) the Place called “Port Natal,” together with all the land annexed, that is to say, from

APP. II. Dogela [Tugela] to the Omsoboebo [Umzimvubu] River westward ; and from the sea to the north, as far as the land may be usefull and in my possession.

Which I did by this, and give unto them for their everlasting property

(Signed) De merk x VAN KONING DINGAAN
[The mark x of KING DINGAAN]

Als getuigen :

[As witnesses]

NWARA
JULIWANE
MANONDO }

Grote Raads-Heren
[Great Councillors]

Als Getuigen :

[As witnesses]

M. OOSTHUYSEN
A. C. GREYLING
B. J. LIEBENBERG

Een ware copy :

[A true copy]

(Signed) J. G. BANTJES
J. B. ROEDELOFF

Certificeere dat de omgeschreevene Contract gevonden is door ons ondergeteekenden bij de gebeenten van wijlen den heer P. Retief in Dingaan's land op den 21ste dag van December, 1838, in een ledere Jagerzak. Indien vereischt zijn wij bereid dat met solemne Eeden te staven.

(Signed) E. F. Potgieter.

[We certify that the within Contract was found by us, the undersigned, with the bones of the late Mr. P. Retief in Dingaan's country on the 21st day of December, 1838, in a leather hunter's pouch. If required, we are prepared to affirm this with solemn oaths.

(Signed) E. F. Potgieter.]

NOTE Q.

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE TO THE REV. FRANCIS OWEN,
MRS. OWEN AND MISS OWEN, PROCEEDING TO SOUTH AFRICA.
DELIVERED NOVEMBER 8, 1836.

DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD,—

On occasion of our present solemn assembly, the Committee and the Friends of the Society have cause to be deeply affected in remembering how greatly the God of Missions has blessed us in our former undertakings; while yet they see before them how much remains unattempted in the heathen world. The Committee are now commencing a new department of labour in the New Zealand Mission and an entirely new Mission in South Eastern Africa. At every step they desire to proceed with humility, caution and dependence on the divine blessing. Let the words, "God be merciful unto us and bless us, and lift up the light of His countenance upon us" breathe from every heart; and let them be uttered with the assurance of faith that the Holy Spirit will in due season perfect this work; that "His way shall be known upon the earth, His saving health unto all nations".

The Mission to the Zooloo country in which you, Mr. Owen, together with your beloved partner and your sister, are about to be engaged, is one entirely new to the Society. The Committee would accept it as a token for good, that in com-

mencing it they have the offer of service from one to whom the office of the sacred ministry is not new; but who has had some experience of the corruption of the heart, the characters of men, the resources of divine grace, and the rich love of our Saviour toward all that faithfully serve Him. They do not thus express their satisfaction with the idea that it will minister to self-complacency in you or in those connected with you; but they simply record the experience which you have hitherto had, and the expectation that God will be pleased to use that experience, and whatever other gifts He may have bestowed upon you, for the glory of His own great name. One feeling, the Committee trust, is foremost and deepest in your heart, as the result of your past experience,—a feeling which can find no better words to express itself than, "Who is sufficient for these things?" Together with this we heartily recommend you to keep fast hold of this consolation, that "our sufficiency is of God".

The circumstances out of which this Mission has thus far arisen are already known to you. It originated in the representation of Capt. Gardiner, who visited the Zoolu country in S. E. Africa in 1834, and on his return to his native land made such appeals to Christians at large, and to this Society in particular, as have been responded to with earnest desire to make some missionary effort on behalf of that region. With this strong feeling the Committee have considered it to be their duty to concur; and though they are aware of the responsibility of the undertaking and the pressing claims of the Missions already existing, yet they venture with humble faith to enter upon this the eleventh Mission of the Society, committing themselves and their work to the God of Missions, who reveals Himself to His Church, in and through Christ, as the Fountain of Wisdom and Goodness inexhaustible.

As to the state of the people of that land whither you are going, the account given by Capt. Gardiner in his published volume is so full and so deeply painful, that it might be superfluous for the Committee to enlarge upon it. Suffice it to say that it is a frightful, living exhibition of the picture drawn by St. Paul of the state of the old heathen world. And if to this be added the hardships of a barbarous land, and the delays resulting from the language not being fixed, it will be evident that you are entering upon a work which will require your best powers, perseveringly put forth and sanctified by the grace of God.

All the difficulties which the Committee contemplate, and others that may present themselves, will no doubt be felt with increasing force the further you advance in this work. New, however, as they will be to you personally, they are not new in the history of the Church of Christ. Even without referring to apostolic and remote ages, we find in the modern records of missionary warfare abundant instances of enterprise as arduous as yours; and the successes with which it has pleased God to crown the labours of other Societies in South Africa, and especially the labours of this Society in New Zealand, bid us be of good courage in entering on this new Mission. The object before you in this undertaking is the same with that of the Apostle when the voice from heaven sent him forth to "turn the Gentiles from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God".

The Committee will now briefly advert to the means whereby you will see to attain this glorious end:

i. The first is, unquestionably, the preaching of the Gospel. As to the manner of doing this, it must vary according to the opportunities presenting themselves, and your power of using such opportunities. But the simple and exalted work is, to "testify to small and great repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ". The plan of eternal mercy, the scheme of man's

APP. II. redemption, you will with joy remember, is revealed from heaven by God Himself. Ignorant as the people are to whom you go, yet you are sustained by the confident conviction that you know God and His gracious covenant. "We *know* that we are of God," and in this cheerful persuasion you may with a cheerful courage go forth to these degraded heathen to proclaim the Gospel among them, "knowing nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified".

2. Another object to be gained will be the formation of a Christian school for the Zoolu children. The grown-up population cannot, indeed, comprehend the meaning of a school, or the advantages that arise from educating children: the very subjects to be taught are to them a mystery. They have never looked beyond instinct and habit, and their only discipline, if even that training may so be called, has been for war. What a youth may learn, what a child and even an infant, may by affectionate and wise discipline be brought to, is by them utterly inconceivable. Here again you have an advantage over them: you know, though they are grossly ignorant of it, that the youngest may spell a word, or imitate the orderly discipline of a school-class, or lisp a prayer, or repeat a short verse of Scripture; and thus lay the foundation of character such as will in after life become a blessing and an ornament to society. The Committee are solicitous, therefore, that a Christian school should be commenced as soon as practicable.

3. Further, as an important means of grace to those heathen tribes may be mentioned the benefit of a Christian example. In this the Committee trust that you will all be, as it were, a "living Epistle, known and read of all men". Savages cannot read books, but they can read men. They can read the countenance, they can divine the temper, they can comment upon your conduct; and all this they will be sure to do. Aim, therefore, under a conviction of this fact, from the very first to "adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things".

4. The Committee would specially urge it upon you, with the utmost practicable speed consistent with literary accuracy, to fix the language or dialect of that part of the country to which your labours may be directed. No words can adequately express the importance of your attaining the native language. The method of conversing, and especially of preaching, through interpreters, must always be defective and often erroneous. For the sake of this essential acquisition it may be well even to suffer other plans and purposes to proceed somewhat slowly, bearing in mind that when once the native language shall be mastered, everything else may be expected, by the divine blessing, to advance rapidly in your hand and in the hands of all associated with you.

5. As you proceed in making yourselves acquainted with the language, the Committee would recommend you to be continually preparing translations; in the first place, probably, of small elementary school-books, but chiefly, and as soon as possible, of portions of the Holy Scriptures. Perhaps some of the parables of our Lord, as being simple, and referring to natural objects, may be found peculiarly adapted to your first efforts; but the Committee are persuaded that you will set before you no lower a mark than that of eventually translating, or leading others to translate, the whole Bible into the native language.

6. The experience which we have had in New Zealand, and the evident necessity of the case, both point out to the Committee that you will have to attend for many years to come, to the introduction of the arts and manners of civilised life among the people of the Zoolu country. Civilisation is the offspring and the handmaid of the Gospel. The first branch of it, which will require your attention, after you shall have located yourselves and erected habitations, will probably be agriculture. In this the natives, accustomed to a life of pasturage, have much to learn. The Committee purpose, as soon as possible, and according as the opening prospects of the Mission shall appear to call for it, to send you competent assistants in this important department of your nascent Mission.

The Committee will next advert to the *location* of the intended Mission. On APP. II. this head it is, however, in their power to offer only very general remarks, leaving the final decision to depend on the information which you may acquire in the country, in addition to that already obtained by Capt. Gardiner. According to the facts now before the public, it would appear that Port Natal is to be looked to as suitable for at least a temporary residence in the commencement of the Mission. Here you will gather the information on which future measures may be grounded; and it may serve, for a season at least, as a point of support to the Mission. The Committee direct their views, however, and earnestly desire yours also to be directed, towards the interior, as being by far the preferable scene of this Mission. In the interior, whenever the Mission shall by God's assistance be safely placed there, opportunities may be expected to be the most favourable for the acquisition of the language; success in which, as already noticed, is a point of primary and fundamental importance. Here too you will best become acquainted with the manners, opinions and circumstances of the people, whereby your plans for their benefit will be rendered more suitable and more probably acceptable. While you are becoming acquainted with them, they will grow acquainted with you; and upon this point the Committee are disposed to lay great stress. For it is not by their hearing about you, but by their enjoying a frequent and somewhat familiar knowledge of your missionary habits, that the natives are likely to be moved in your favour. Nor is it a small consideration that by your advancing further into the interior, the natives adhering to you, as well as yourselves and your whole Mission, will be thereby more effectually detached from the contaminating and distressing intercourse of ungodly Europeans.

During your temporary stay at Port Natal, the Committee will not disapprove of your ministering to the English residents there, but without undertaking a regular pastoral charge or forming a permanent engagement with them.

In forming your judgment of the advantages of any situation with a view to its permanent occupation, three principal points are to be regarded, viz. *salubrity*, as referring to the position and the productiveness of any given spot; *security* for life and property; and, as a vital consideration, *scope* for abundant, ready and frequent access to the natives, and intercourse with them. It would not be easy for the Committee to say which of these three points is the most essential to the well-being of the intended Mission, since each one is by itself so important. They earnestly pray that you may be guided by infinite wisdom and goodness in determining, after the maturest information, on that course which may ensure to the greatest possible degree all these three advantages in combination. The Committee would, in reference to the future location of the Mission, simply add, that it will be advisable for you to make further inquiry into the respective claims and eligibility of the Inthlangwain tribe and Clomanthleen district, the information at present gained not being sufficient to enable them to pronounce a decided opinion on the comparative claims of each. . . .

The Committee would urge on you the high importance of your keeping regular Journals, and maintaining a regular correspondence with the Society. This duty, it may truly be said, is absolutely necessary; for there are as yet, comparatively, but few facts before the Committee, and they need also to be aided by the views and feelings of Missionaries expressly devoting their whole soul and all their time to this work. Write therefore both copiously and constantly, remembering that while the novelty of many scenes may pass away to you, descriptions accurately given will convey to us ever new information and interest. Your Quarterly Journal should be made up to March 31st, June 30th, Sept. 30th and Dec. 31st, and transmitted immediately. Letters should be written by you to the Committee at least once a quarter, and oftener whenever opportunities may offer or circumstances require.

APP. II. In closing this part of their instructions, the Committee would suggest one preliminary measure of much importance, which they trust you may be able to carry into effect prior to your actually proceeding to Port Natal. They wish that you should avail yourself of your arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, and of your temporary sojourn there, to invite the attention of all Christian friends whom you may be able to influence, and especially the members of our own Church in that Colony, to the objects and proceedings of the Church Missionary Society. It would be highly expedient to aim at forming, if practicable, an Auxiliary Church Missionary Society at Cape Town, with branch associations in other towns. The Committee regret to think that, with the exception of a few contributors to the Society's funds, next to nothing has been done in that Colony for the purpose of inviting and attaching many who are probably only waiting for an impulse like this to declare themselves our friends and fellow-labourers. The opportunity is seasonable. Prudently and promptly, therefore, endeavour to unite with you such zealous Christians as may promote our cause. The proximity of your Mission will deeply interest them; its simplicity, as you will be able from these instructions to exhibit it, will preclude all ground of prejudice; its details, as you will be able in future years, the Committee trust, to report on your work, will increasingly animate Christians in all that region, as well as at home; and thus a fund may be raised which shall augment more and more the resources of the Missions in the south of that vast and benighted Continent.

The Committee desire to add a few words of sympathy and encouragement to those who are accompanying you; the one, your Christian partner for life, sharing all your sorrows and your yet more abounding joys, the other a sister not only in the flesh but also in the Lord. Who can fail to be deeply affected with the prospect of those trials, privations, hardships and revolting scenes to which you for Christ's sake may most probably be exposed? The Committee are persuaded that in contemplating these your own hearts must sometimes have felt some natural pangs of anxiety; but if you have felt them, you have not yielded to them. You have, they are well assured, been supported by that faith which overcometh the world. Oh! may that faith through the rich communications of the Spirit ever sustain you in your progress *through* afflictions, as it now does in the prospect of them. May you be enabled to witness a good testimony, and to exhibit a shining example to females more especially, and the rising generation of Zoolu children; your adorning and your consolations being all received from Him who bestows on holy women a character far above all price, even that hidden man of the heart which is clothed with a meek and quiet spirit.

The Committee have now only in conclusion to renew to you the assurance of their deep interest in all your future proceedings, and their affectionate sympathy with all your circumstances. They feel that it is a solemn thing for you thus to dedicate yourselves to the Lord: how much more weighty will this appear to you when actually surrounded by duties and perhaps dangers. When thus actually engaged in your work, however, you will remember Who it is that said to an Apostle, "My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness". Like that Apostle should the power of Christ rest upon you, you will learn even to take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake. In all these things you will be enabled to exclaim, "When I am weak, then am I strong". "Nay, in all these things you will be more than conquerors, through Him that loved us." Seek then to have that power of Christ resting upon you. Cultivate by prayer and watchfulness that peculiar missionary gift spoken of by the Apostle, namely the spirit of power and love and of a sound mind. Exercise yourselves to endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ. When nature suffers, quickly

remember what the Kingdom of grace is gaining through the labours, patience APP. II. and death of Missionaries, accepted through the free grace of our exalted Redeemer. In one word, as St. Paul was an example to Timothy, so do ye also "endure all things for the elect's sake, that they may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory".

By order of the Committee,

W. JOWETT }
D. COATES } Sees. C. M. S.

CHURCH MISSIONARY HOUSE,
NOVEMBER 8TH, 1836.

NOTE R.

ATTACK ON SECHELI'S TOWN BY THE BOER COMMANDO.

The account which Dr. Livingstone has given of the Boer attack upon Secheli's is well known from his published works, but the official account issued by Commandant-General Scholtz, and drawn up contemporaneously with the events described, has been rarely seen in print. It is therefore here given.¹

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE ACTING COMM.-GEN. P. E. SCHOLTZ, ESQ.

MARICO, AUGUST 20TH, 1852.

This day the Commando sent by A. W. Pretorius, Esq., assembled.

I departed without delay, according to my instructions, to the rebellious Kafir tribes, who had constantly disturbed the country by thefts and threatening. On the 23rd I sent from Mabotza an adjutant to the sub-captain of Cokkie and the people left behind of Moselele, to offer, and, if possible, to encourage them to peace; but received no answer from them. I proceeded on; and on the following day they again had peace offered them, but they were entrenched in caverns and jungle. I, however, ventured to send a couple of field-cornets with some men to within about 100 yards of them, for the purpose of speaking to them; but they persisted in refusing. The patrol then endeavoured to make some of them prisoners, but they resisted; upon which I ordered a few shots to be fired at them. Towards evening the above-named sub-captain came out, and I made peace with him, and also restored to him all prisoners of war, on condition that he should forthwith return to his abode.

On the 25th I went forward and captured three of Secheli's scouts. During the march up to the 27th, I was informed that Secheli was making every preparation to fight, having assembled five captains of surrounding tribes about him. Upon these reports I determined to approach his residence as close as I could venture.

I issued an order to the Commando that no goods belonging to the missionaries should be touched, in accordance with the Lager Instructions; of which two men had made themselves guilty, who were tried by court-martial on the 27th and convicted, and sentenced to receive thirty lashes, or to be deprived of all burgher privileges of the Commando. They preferred the latter.

On the 28th I pushed out to Secheli's town-water, about a quarter of an hour's walk from the town. To reach it I had to march past the town and to proceed through a narrow passage. I prepared everything for self-defence, as every posi-

¹ From the "Zuid Oost Afrikaan," in Holden's "History of Natal," pp. 380 seqq.

APP. II. tion was occupied by the enemy, who levelled their guns at us and threatened us, but did not fire a shot, so that I gained my object without opposition ; and as the day was far advanced, and it was also the last day of the week, I resolved, with the concurrence of the council of war, to abstain from everything that could give rise to displeasure, not even to allow anyone except the Commandants to speak to Secheli's Kafirs, lest any misunderstanding should take place, and that we might observe the Lord's Day.

I at once sent to Secheli the following message :—

" FRIEND SECHELI,—As an upright friend I would advise you not to allow yourself to be misled by Moselele, who has fled to you because he has done wrong. Rather give him back to me that he may answer for his offence. I am also prepared to enter into the best arrangements with you. Come over to me, and we shall arrange everything for the best, even were it this evening.

" Your friend,

" P. E. SCHOLTZ, *Act. Comm.-Gen.*"

Secheli replied :—

" Wait till Monday. I shall not deliver up Moselele : he is my child. If I am to deliver him up, I shall have to rip up my belly ; but I challenge you on Monday to show which is the strongest man. I am, like yourself, provided with arms and ammunition, and have more fighting people than you. I should not have allowed you thus to come in, but would assuredly have fired upon you ; but I have looked into the Book, upon which I reserved my fire. I am myself provided with cannon. Keep yourself quiet to-morrow, and do not quarrel for water till Monday ; then we shall see who is the strongest man. You are already in my pot ; I shall only have to put the lid on it on Monday.

" SECHELI."

Sunday, 29th.—We humbled ourselves before the Most High, who delivers both the weak and the strong, and jointly besought Him to be merciful to us. After divine service Secheli sent two men to me to ask for some sugar, which I looked upon as a piece of bravado. He also sent word to me to send two men to him on Monday, and that I should take care that the oxen did not depasture on the poisonous grass, for that he now looked upon them as his own. I briefly replied that such a hero should rather use chillies than sugar.

Monday, 30th.—I sent two men to Secheli to ascertain his meaning, and once more to offer peace to him. He replied that he required no peace ; that he now challenged me to fight ; and, if I had not sufficient ammunition he would lend me some. I again sent to tell him that he should call to mind how he had ever to submit to the tyranny of Matselikatse, whom we had dispersed ; that he, Secheli, was then poor and small, and having now grown rich by the burghers, he should not become too arrogant by harbouring robbers and disturbers of the peace ; that he should not harden his heart, as it might be productive of mournful results to him ; that he would perhaps become again as little as he had been.

His reply was, " I want to fight ". I advanced with 300 men close to his battery, and again sent messengers to prevail upon him to accept peace, and to inform him that, should he not want to conclude peace, he was to set aside his women and children, or rather to come out with his warriors that we then might fight man to man, as I would otherwise be compelled to fight with cannon, and this might endanger the women and children. All this I did to dispose him to peace. But he replied, " You have nothing to do with my women and children ; they are mine ; and I want to fight to-day, and ascertain which of us is the strongest ".

Upon which, under a shower of balls, I advanced upon the battery, confiding

my fate into the hands of the Lord. I stormed the entrenchments and caverns APP. II. under a severe fire which I encountered from three sides; took possession, set fire to, and stormed one side of the town, where one of my gallant burghers, named Jan de Clerk, was killed; and in storming a rocky ridge the gallant Mr. G. Wolmarans, F.s., and a Bastard were killed alongside of each other. After six hours' hard fighting, I had possession of two rocky ridges and all the enemy's entrenchments, with a large number of guns and prisoners. A good number of them had been killed. My loss was three killed and six wounded. I was compelled to retire, my men being knocked up and night having closed in upon us. The enemy had still possession of one rocky ridge. We again assembled to thank the Lord and to offer Him our evening sacrifice.

The following day I sent 150 men out to reconnoitre, and to ascertain whether the enemy were disposed for peace; upon which I found that they had evacuated their stronghold and fled in various directions. I sent patrols after them, who found troops of them here and there, who fought in skirmishing order. But my party returned the following day with guns and cattle captured from the enemy, and without having sustained any casualty.

On the 1st of September I despatched Commdt. P. Schutte with a patrol to Secheli's old town; but he found it evacuated, and the missionary's residence broken open by the Kafirs. The commandant found, however, two percussion rifles; and the Kafir prisoners declared that Livingstone's house, which was still locked, contained ammunition, and that shortly before he had exchanged thirteen guns with Secheli, which I had also learnt two weeks previously, the missionaries Inglis and Edwards having related it to the burghers A. Bytel and J. Snyman; and that Livingstone's house had been broken open by Secheli to get powder and lead. I therefore resolved to open the house that was still locked, in which we found several half-finished guns and a gunmaker's shop with abundance of tools. We here found more guns and tools than Bibles, so that the place had more the appearance of a gunmaker's shop than a mission-station, and more of a smuggling-shop than of a school-place.

This day young Smit, one of the wounded, died. We this day found two waggons hidden under a rock. On the 3rd I resolved to return, in order to refresh my cattle not far from the encampment. Having again encamped, I sent to all the tribes who had shown themselves our enemies, to offer peace to them, that those of them who accepted it might return to their town or residence. I also sent to the disturber Monsua at Malopo, and appointed a place where I would meet him, because his subjects were continually plundering, and he was aware that they had committed serious depredations.

The force returned with a booty of 3,000 head of cattle and a number of sheep, eleven horses, forty-eight guns, two waggons and other articles found in Secheli's retreat; likewise smith's and gunmaker's tools found in the house of the missionary. Amongst the above cattle many were recognised by their lawful owners as having been stolen from them by the Kafirs. I gave them back their property, which materially reduced the troop. The rest of the cattle, after defraying the expenses, I divided amongst the Commando in equal portions, except that I allowed something more to the wounded.

The above expedition having, according to instructions, taken the field to ascertain what had become of the cattle that had been continually stolen, we found on our advance a part among the remaining herds of Moselele, who along with the other vagabonds was protected by Secheli. At Secheli's was the greatest smuggling-shop to be found in the whole settlement. He constantly deals in ammunition and guns, which he again exchanges with the other tribes; and an uncivilised nation having firearms in hand, believe themselves to be invincible and perpetrate the most heinous acts. This also was even Secheli's notion, who though

APP. II. warned and exhorted to peace, deemed himself invincible, and not only desired to take our lives, but also all our waggons and cattle.

(Signed) P. E. SCHOLTZ, *Act. Comm.-Gen.*

Approved. (Signed) A. W. J. PRETORIUS, *Comm.-Gen.*

The above report revised and approved. By order of the Volksraad.

(Signed) C. POTGIETER, *President.*

NOTE S.

COLONEL COLLINS' REPORT ON THE BUSHMEN.

Colonel Richard Collins, a high-minded and impartial officer of the 83rd Regiment, was appointed by the Government, in 1808 and 1809, to visit the various native tribes and report upon their condition. The account which he gave of his journeys, and the recommendations which he made as to the treatment of the natives, form documents of great importance. Here it is only possible to quote a few of his observations on the Bushmen.

The Bosjesmen are mostly scattered over an immense tract of country, in small parties unconnected with each other. It was very satisfactory to one to observe the anxiety evinced by the farmers of the north-eastern districts to preserve peace with that people rather by conciliation than terror. If the object of terminating their depredations has not yet been fully attained, the number and extent of their thefts has at least been considerably lessened in that quarter; and murder, which used formerly to be the constant attendant of robbery with the Bosjesmen, is now seldom heard of in this part of the country.

These beneficial effects have probably been produced, not more by the friendly intercourse that the farmers have endeavoured to establish, than by the restrictions that have been attached to Commandoes. Those parties were formerly sent out perhaps months after the robberies were complained of, and were often directed against the body of that people instead of the individuals who were guilty; but the manner in which they are now used seems to me to be just and necessary, and I think must appear so even to the Bosjesmen. When a theft is committed, a few neighbours are hastily collected by the veld-cornet, who pursue the thieves by their trace. If they try to escape they seldom fall by the arms of their pursuers; but if they are obstinate in defending their booty, the farmers use force to recover their property. The moderation of the latter has, however, been strongly evinced on many such occasions; notwithstanding the irritation naturally produced by the theft, aggravated perhaps by many of their cattle being mortally wounded in their sight, to prevent their being recovered, at least alive, the farmers have often used these opportunities to bring about a peace, and to induce these people to reside among them.¹

The Bosjesmen often suffer extreme misery, seldom rob but to satisfy their wants, and afford the fairest hope of becoming in time useful to themselves and to the Colony. Humanity and policy therefore combine to prompt the adoption of every measure that can tend to alleviate their unhappy lot, and attach them to the settlers. I feel it my duty strongly to point out the necessity of some steps being immediately taken on this subject, as, if missions are not soon established, or some other means found of subsisting those Bosjesmen who have kraals within

¹ Moodie: "The Record," Part V ("Collins' Journal"), p. 23.

or near the boundary, and do not work for the inhabitants, the latter may at length become tired of their importunities, and by refusing to satisfy their demands may be exposed to the unexpected effects of their resentment. The least evil that can be looked for is their returning to the mountains, and recommencing their former predatory life, which, indeed, I understand has happened lately with some of them.

Notwithstanding the benefits that may be expected from the adoption of the proposed measures, I fear that it will be a considerable time before the plan of engaging the Bosjesmen to serve the inhabitants during registered periods can be conveniently adopted; until, long accustomed to the way of living of the colonists, they leave them for some months every year to enjoy a ramble, and to eat locusts, wild roots and the larvae of ants. It would be impolitic, and indeed impossible, to compel them at once to relinquish these habits; and it can only be hoped that the exertions of the farmers on the borders, and the benevolence and justice of a watchful Government, may at length vanquish these early propensities, and guide to useful purposes the exercise of those talents with which they have been so liberally gifted by nature.¹

The supposition that the enmity of the Bosjesmen was originally occasioned by their resentment at being forced to quit the territory of their ancestors seems unfounded, as it appears that they have always resided in the country they now inhabit, since the Cape has been possessed by Europeans. In the course of my journey I have seen several persons who remember the events of more than half a century. They relate that the colonists began to settle in this part of the country about 60 years ago, when they found it inhabited by Hottentots who readily entered their service. The Bosjesmen resided at that time beyond the Zak River.

Of the existing causes of hostility the most obvious, on the part of the Bosjesmen, is their power of procuring, by plundering the farmers, such articles of subsistence as they do not possess in their own country. It does not appear that they are actuated by any particular animosity to the colonists in these incursions, for their object seems to be plunder, not murder, which latter has seldom been committed, except where necessary to promote the former.

Whatever blame may be attributed to the colonists as to the original cause of the unfortunate misunderstanding that exists between them and the Bosjesmen, I observed nothing in them that indicated that implacable hatred which they are so generally supposed to feel for that people. They have frequent intercourse with some of the kraals, whose inhabitants often come to their habitations and receive from them presents of sheep and tobacco. Most of them have Bosjesmen in their service, whom they treat humanely and who serve them faithfully. It cannot be considered extraordinary that when any of that people kill their shepherds and steal their cattle, they should wish to follow them to recover their property and avenge the murder of their servants. Cruelty is too often the attendant even of those wars in which the individuals engaged are uninfluenced by any personal consideration; it would not therefore be surprising that instances of it were found on these occasions. But I am much distressed to believe that the accounts given of them are exaggerated; as they have been

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 24. This last clause has been thus expanded by Philip ("Researches," II, p. 14). "[Col. Collins] asserts without the slightest qualification . . . that there is not upon the face of the globe a people possessed of better natural abilities, or more susceptible of mental and moral improvement." The careful reader will observe that this is the very opposite of what Collins actually does say, and that the clause in question is more of the nature of an oratorical flourish than a logical deduction from the facts adduced by Collins himself.

APP. II. principally received from a late traveller,¹ who, from some unaccountable cause, seems to have exerted all his ingenuity to exhibit the African farmers in the most unfavourable point of view, and whose representations of their treatment of the aborigines, having been conveyed through the medium of eloquent declamation and specious philanthropy, seem to have been implicitly received and regarded as incontrovertible, although his statements respecting them are extremely incorrect, as I have known from many particulars that have fallen under my observation.²

NOTE T.

THE NYASALAND MISSION OF THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH.

Although not falling strictly within the scope of this history, the mission operations of the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland deserve some slight mention as the enterprise of a Church domiciled in South Africa. The commencement of this mission came about in the following manner.

In the year 1885 Dr. Andrew Murray undertook an evangelistic tour to the Transvaal, from which he returned with a deep impression of the great need and immense extent of the mission field. The work in the Zoutpansbergen had then been in progress for twenty years, and in the meantime other societies had entered the Transvaal and hemmed in that field on every side. Dr. Murray was therefore of opinion that a new sphere of work must be sought in a field comparatively unworked. He suggested the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa, where the two Churches of Scotland were at work, who would heartily welcome the arrival of a body of fellow-Presbyterians.

These ideas were first uttered in the midst of a small circle of ministers, who realised that if anything practical was to be undertaken, they must themselves take the initiative, and be willing to contribute largely out of their own pockets for the support of the new enterprise. At a Conference held at Cradock in 1886 the matter was further discussed, and a number of ministers undertook to give £10 per annum for the new mission. Before the end of the year the *Ministers' Mission Union* was finally established, and it is to this body that the inception of the Nyasa Mission is due.

Meanwhile the first labourer for the distant field had offered his services to the Mission Committee of the Church. He was Andrew Charles Murray, a son of the Parsonage of Graaff Reinet. Murray had almost completed his course in theology at the Stellenbosch Seminary, and now proposed to give eighteen months to a brief medical course in Edinburgh, for which place he sailed in September, 1886. In 1888 he returned to the Cape. After ordination at Graaff

¹ The reference is to Barrow, whose "Travels into the Interior of S. Africa" had been recently published.

² Moodie, op. cit., p. 34.

Reinet, and an impressive farewell service in the Adderley Street Church in Cape Town, he departed for the mission field in June. APP. II.
The Chinde mouth of the Zambesi River had not then been discovered, and the port of disembarkation for Central African travellers was still Quilimane. From here Murray made his way, at the cost of much trouble and many mishaps, up the Kwakwa River, which at certain seasons of the year, immediately after the heavy summer rains, is connected with the Zambesi.

A year was spent in the country to acquire the language, mature his plans, and decide upon the best sphere of work, until in 1889 Murray was joined by his first lieutenant in the person of T. C. B. Vlok, and the two set out on an exploratory tour, through the district now known as Central Angoniland. In November of that year the foundation was laid of the first Dutch Reformed Mission station in that country, which received the name of *Mvera* ("obedience"). The Achewa tribe which occupied this territory acknowledged the authority of Chiwere as chief of the country. We are speaking of a time when no protectorate had as yet been declared over the country, and Europeans could only settle there by favour of the chief. The young missionaries accordingly found it advisable to establish their station as near as possible to the kraal of Chiwere, in order to claim his protection and win his confidence. Mvera is situated on a hill that commands a magnificent view of the Lake, twenty-seven miles away, and of the range of mountains by which it is bounded on the east. As far as the eye can reach in a northerly direction stretch the sparkling waters of the Lake, over whose placid surface steam-boats now ply between Fort Johnston in the south and Langenberg in the extreme north, 360 miles away.

In 1892 Robert Blake joined the two already at work, while Murray journeyed to the Cape on his first furlough. When the latter returned it was not alone: his young wife, who had been Miss Lautré of the French Basuto Mission, accompanied him, along with Miss Jacobs, the fiancée of Blake, Miss Martha Murray, and J. S. Cridland who was to fill the offices of bookkeeper and carpenter. The number of workers had thus grown to seven, and the necessity of starting a second station was forced upon them. At a mountain called Kongwe ("the cold") there was abundance of running water, in which Mvera was unhappily somewhat deficient, and here Blake settled. Under his vigorous management a garden was laid out and a very serviceable mill, driven by water-power, was erected.

Soon new workers arrived in the persons of Messrs. William Murray and A. v. d. Westhuysen, while Miss Martha Murray opened

APP. II. the first home for native girls. A third station was commenced in 1896, the site selected being under the lofty mountain called Mkoma. This station was established after the failure to effectively occupy the regions along the lake coast. The south and south-west coastline had been handed over to the Dutch Reformed Mission by their brethren of the Free Church of Scotland, and they felt it incumbent upon them to make a serious attempt to work the field, in spite of the known insalubrity of the climate, which had already carried off not a few members of the older Mission. Vlok and his young wife had accordingly been sent to occupy Liblezi. The deadly nature of the climate again made itself felt, and in March, 1896, Mrs. Vlok's life was cut short by an attack of fever, to the intense grief of her husband and the great loss of the Mission.

The work, however, claimed more sacrifices than one. In the year after Mrs. Vlok's death, J. F. du Toit, who had also contracted fever in the unhealthy lowlands, succumbed to an attack of blackwater fever at Mkoma. In 1898 Cridland died, just as he was preparing to return home for his first furlough. Three years later S. McClure, who had joined the Mission as artisan missionary, succumbed to an attack of fever after four years of faithful work. Again, in 1904, C. H. Minnaar, who had decided for mission work while a prisoner in the Boer Camp at St. Helena, died unexpectedly at Mkoma, after completing a substantial and handsome church, which for many years will remain the monument of his industry and consecration. Reference must also be made to the death of Tinie Pauw, wife of J. P. J. Joubert, who died at Chiromo before she had even reached the field of work where she hoped to contribute the share of a missionary's wife towards the promotion of Christ's Kingdom in Central Africa. And, finally, the death must be chronicled, in 1910, of Mrs. F. J. van Eeden, who after having served the Mission (first as Miss Issie Hofmeyr) for ten years, was cut off by an attack of blackwater fever at Magwero, North-east Rhodesia. This roll-call of heroes and heroines of faith in Nyasaland should sound in our ears as a summons to more strenuous and self-denying labours "while yet it is called to-day".

The growth of the Nyasa Mission during the past ten or twelve years has been nothing short of marvellous. With the exception of Uganda, there is perhaps no part of the African mission field which shows such growth as the fields of the Livingstonia and the Dutch Reformed Missions in Central Africa. The extension of the work of the latter during the last decade can be best exhibited thus:—

	In 1900.	In 1910.	APP. II.
Number of European workers (including wives)	23	37	
Number of stations manned by Europeans*	3	8	
Number of out-stations	80	235	
Number of evangelists and teachers	330	865	
Number of children at school	7,839	25,796	
Number of baptised Christians	340	2,029	
Number of members of baptism class	579	3,139	

This is a record of growth for which we may well thank God and take courage. It must be clearly stated here that the above figures take no account of the promising field of the Dutch Reformed Church of the Orange Free State. That work was commenced in 1899, and now counts five stations manned by thirteen Europeans, 324 native workers, and over 9,000 children under instruction. The Transvaal Church has also lately undertaken mission work in Central Africa, and has selected as its field Portuguese Nyasaland, immediately to the south of the territory worked by the Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape Province.

NOTE U.

DECISION OF THE FREE STATE VOLKSRAAD TO EXPEL THE FRENCH MISSIONARIES.

(*A Translation from the Dutch.*)

Extracts from the "Proceedings of the Volksraad," 7th February, 1866.

Several memorials from burghers of the various commandoes read, requesting that the missionaries be removed from Basutoland.

His Honour the State-President . . . speaks at length upon the desirability of not compelling the missionaries to leave Basutoland or the annexed territory. His Honour points out what injurious results may follow, if the germinating seeds of instruction and Christianity among the Kaffirs be wholly choked; and considers it wholly objectionable to treat them, the missionaries (as one memorial desires), as enemies. According to the opinion of His Honour the charges laid at the door of the missionaries in connection with this war are by no means proved.

Motion of Mr. J. N. de Wet, supported by Mr. P. Swanepoel: Whereas the missionaries in Basutoland have not confined themselves exclusively to their calling as such, but have on former occasions as well as lately interfered in political affairs; whereas the sympathy which they feel for the Basuto, by transference to matters political, has proved to have an effect injurious to the Orange Free State; whereas the Government of the Orange Free State cannot permit the missionaries who reside in the lately annexed territory to remain any longer in the immediate vicinity of the borders; the Volksraad decides that the missionaries shall remove from the borders on or before the 1st March, and if they desire to continue dwelling within our territory, shall settle at such place as shall be indicated to them by the Executive Council; that the inhabitants of the State shall be enjoined to respect the dwelling-houses and other possessions

APP. II. of the above-mentioned missionaries; that the above-mentioned missionaries shall be required to bind themselves in writing to refrain during the war from all correspondence or understanding, direct or indirect, with any person in Basutoland, and to do or undertake nothing against the safety or interests of this State, and also to see that such be not done by any member of his family.

The motions being voted upon, that of Mr. J. N. de Wet is carried.¹

NOTE V.

THE TRANSVAAL GOVERNMENT AND THE DIETERLEN MISSION.

The story of this disaster has often been told, but never quite completely. The impression has perhaps unconsciously gained ground that the French expedition was the object of a general persecution on the part of the Transvaal burghers. That was not so. No doubt many of them were, and still are, strongly opposed to mission work. But they were not personally opposed to missionaries. That feeling, which had certainly existed at the time of the Great Trek, and had been renewed during the war of 1855 to 1858, had generally melted away in actual contact with men whom they respected as the servants of God, and treated hospitably and kindly, as one white man treats another in a savage land. General Joubert, as President² of the Transvaal, had wished the Swiss missionaries god-speed only a few months before, and was on perfectly friendly terms with the French ones. Whence, then, the change of front? It must be looked for in the change of Government. Mr. Burgers was now President in place of Joubert. He was a very able and intellectual man, an ex-*predikant*, who had resigned the ministry owing to his rationalistic views. For this reason his fellow-citizens did not view him with favour. He saw the great danger to which the infant State was exposed, almost bankrupt, and surrounded by heathen tribes armed to the teeth. He thought that the effect of mission work would be to render the latter still more formidable and aggressive.

C. W. MACINTOSH : "Coillard of the Zambezi," p. 219.

NOTE W.

PRESENT STATE OF THE SWISS MISSION (FROM 1909 REPROT).

We have now:—

- (a) in North Transvaal, the stations Valdezia, Elim, Shiluvane and Kou-roulene, the hospital at Elim, and the Normal School at Lemana.
- (b) in Central Transvaal, work at Pretoria and Johannesburg.
- (c) in the Portuguese province of Lorenço Marques, the central station at Lorenço Marques, with, to the South, Tembe, Matoutouene and Makoulene, and to the North, Rikatla, Antioka and Chikoumbane.

The number of out-stations in the whole of our mission field has remained stationary, namely sixty-five, and the number of native helpers is eighty-four.

The European staff comprises: nineteen missionaries, three medical missionaries, seven auxiliary men, twenty-one missionaries' wives and twenty lady assistants—together seventy. These are the seventy disciples sent by the Churches of French Switzerland to do their share in the evangelisation of Africa.

"Bulletin de la Mission romande," Tome XXII, p. 222.

¹ "Basutoland Records," III, pp. 614, 615.

² This should be "Acting President"—during the absence of President Burgers in Europe. Burgers was President from 1872 to 1877.

From the Table of Statistics it appears that in 1908 there were APP. II.
over 2000 Church members, and 2700 scholars at eighty-six schools.

NOTE X.

A NOTE ON THE THONGA (GWAMBA) LANGUAGE.

The Shangaan language, which would be more scientifically called the Thonga language, is the most widespread of the Bantu languages of South Africa after Zulu and Suto. It is spoken by 100,000 natives in the Transvaal, half of which dwell in the Zoutpansberg district. The others are scattered in the Lydenburg, Waterberg and Pretoria districts. But apart from these, there are scores of thousands of Thonga employed on the Rand [Johannesburg] under the designation of East Coast boys or Ma-shangane. Of 75,000 natives coming from the East Coast, half or two-thirds speak Thonga.

In fact, the true abode of the Thonga tribe is in Portuguese territory. It covers most of the Inhambane district, and the whole of the district of Lorenço Marques, reaching Amatongaland and the Natal border on the south. The total number of Thonga can be estimated at from 750,000 to 1,000,000.

These facts are sufficient to show the great importance of the Thonga language. Though most of the male Shangaan understand and speak, more or less, Zulu, their mother tongue is quite different from it, being not at all, as some people think, a kind of degenerate Kafir, but a regularly constructed, independent, harmonious Bantu idiom, with a very rich folk-lore and characteristic grammatical features.

Thonga is one of the branches of the South-Eastern Bantu group, which includes also Zulu and Suto. It comprehends five or six different dialects which differ slightly from each other in their grammar and in their vocabulary :—

1. The Shi-Ronga, round Delagoa Bay;
2. The Shi-Djonga, between the Nkomati and the Olifant Rivers;
3. The Shi-Nwaltungu, north of the Olifant and west of the Limpopo;
4. The Shi-Hlanganu, in the Lebombo Hills;
5. The Shi-Vila, in the Limpopo valley;
6. The Shi-Hlengwe, spread west of the Limpopo to Inhambane and the Sabi River in Mashonaland.

From H. A. JUNOD: "An Elementary Grammar of the Thonga-Shangaan Language".

NOTE Y.

THE ETHIOPIAN MOVEMENT.

Had the so-called "Ethiopian Movement" in South Africa put forth any fresh and independent effort to reach the unevangelised tribes in the sub-continent, it would have deserved a chapter of this "History" to itself. It is, however, in no sense a missionary agency, but merely seeks to establish an active propaganda in fields already fully occupied. The chief claim of the Ethiopian Movement to notice in these pages is the unenviable one of having effected serious schisms in almost every Church and Society at work in the mission fields of South Africa. The history of this remarkable movement may be considered under the following heads :—

APP. II.

I. *The African Methodist Episcopal Church.*

This Church owed its origin to a secession of negroes, who in 1787 left the Methodist Society of Philadelphia, because (as they affirmed) "their white brethren considered them a nuisance in the house of worship, and even pulled them off their knees when in the act of worship, and ordered them to the back seats".¹ Deeply grieved and affronted by such treatment the coloured section decided to erect their own chapel, and by a decision of the Pennsylvania legislature they were soon acknowledged as an independent organisation. Various bodies of negroes were thus formed into separate congregations, with no tie to unite them to each other, until in 1816 a General Convention was held in Philadelphia, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church established.

The new organisation adopted the doctrines and form of government of the Methodist Episcopal Church from which it had seceded. The Convention of 1816 elected Richard Allen, an ordained clergyman of seventeen years' standing, as first Bishop of the newly-established Church, and Allen was duly consecrated by the imposition of hands of five ordained ministers. Since that day the "Episcopal Succession" of the African Methodist Episcopal Church has been consistently maintained, and at pages 4 to 7 of the "Doctrines and Discipline" of the Church the names are given of all who have served as Bishops since 1816, with a list of the ministers who took part at their consecration. We find there the name of Levi Jenkins Coppin, who was "solemnly set apart," on 23 May, 1900, as Bishop and Chairman of the South African and Transvaal Conferences. But before we proceed to describe the development of the movement under Bishop Coppin, it is necessary to review briefly its beginnings in South Africa.

II. *The Movement towards Native Independence in South Africa.*

In the eighties of last century there were sporadic attempts on the part of native congregations to assert their independence of European control. Among the North-Transvaal Basuto, and especially among Sekukuni's people, a spirit of isolation and independence manifested itself at an early stage, causing no little trouble and anxiety to the brethren of the Berlin Society. About the year 1886 an ex-Wesleyan preacher named Nehemiah effected a secession in Tembuland, and established the so-called "Church of the Tembus".

These were, however, secessions of no great importance, though they proved that in the mind of the native the thought was working of freedom from the white man's control and supervision.

¹ "Doctrines and Discipline of the A. M. E. Church," p. i.

The real Ethiopian Movement dates from 1892. In that year a body of Wesleyan converts, under the leadership of M. M. Makone, an ordained minister, severed their connection with the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and declared their independence under the name and title of "The Ethiopian Church". Another secession from the Wesleyans took place two years later under the native minister J. M. Dwane, the son of a councillor of the Gunukwebe tribe in Kafraria. Dwane, who had been a Wesleyan minister for thirteen years, and had succeeded in collecting in England a considerable sum of money for an institution in connection with his own work, found himself obliged, on his return, to pay this money into the general fund of the Wesleyan Church. This so incensed him that he left the Wesleyans with a large following, and joined the Church established by Makone.

The need of better organisation and a stricter discipline soon made itself felt in the newly-established Church, and Dwane was deputed to America to effect the affiliation of the "Ethiopian Church" with the "African Methodist Episcopal Church". In this mission he was successful, and he returned from America in 1897 with the appointment of General Superintendent in South Africa of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Next year the coloured Bishop, H. M. Turner, visited South Africa, and during a short tour of only six weeks received into the African Methodist Episcopal Church some thousands of members, and ordained as ministers no less than sixty local preachers. The General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1900, ratified this action on Bishop Turner's part, in the following terms:—

Whereas, Bishop H. M. Turner, D.D., LL.D., went to South Africa and organised two Annual Conferences, and appointed a General Superintendent over the same; and

Whereas, the Conferences in South Africa, under the laws of the A. M. E. Church, of which they are legal members, elected delegates to this, the Twenty-first General Conference of the A. M. E. Church,—therefore be it

Resolved, that this General Conference hails with delight the extension of our work in South Africa; and that we welcome with all our hearts the delegates therefrom to a seat in this General Conference;

Resolved, second, that this General Conference endorse the action of Bishop Turner in organising the work in South Africa, and in appointing a Superintendent over that work.¹

This was the Conference that also appointed L. J. Coppin as first Bishop for South Africa.

III. *The Order of Ethiopia.*

In the meantime Dwane had been growing more and more dissatisfied with the Church which he had himself called in to absorb

¹ "Doctrines and Discipline," p. 401.

APP. II. and organise the "Ethiopian Movement". In 1899, subsequent to Turner's visit, but before the appointment of Coppin as Bishop, he had already made overtures to the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town to be received into the Church of England as an independent order. At a Conference of the "Ethiopian Church" held at Queenstown these resolutions were passed:—

1. That, having regard to the great importance of Christian unity, and being convinced that the scriptural and historical safeguard of the same is the Catholic Episcopate, this Conference resolves to petition his Grace the Archbishop of Cape Town and the other Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa to give our body a valid Episcopate and Priesthood, and to make such arrangements as may be found possible to include our body within the fold of the Catholic Church on lines indicated in our Superintendent's letter to the Bishop of Cape Town.
2. That this Conference accepts and embraces the Doctrine, Sacraments and Discipline of Christ, as the same are contained in Holy Scripture, according as the Church of England has set forth the same in its Standards of Faith and Doctrine.¹

These resolutions were carefully considered by the Archbishop (West Jones) and laid before an Episcopal Synod at Grahamstown in 1900. After prolonged consultation, during which warning notes were sounded against the creation of an *imperium in imperio*, and the erection of a racial barrier between white and black, a proposal was formulated for the formation of "the Order of Ethiopia" within the Church. This Order was to be governed by a Provincial and Chapter, and was to stand under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, but not of the parochial clergy. To this proposal Dwane agreed unreservedly, and the majority of those who had attended the Queenstown Conference joined the Order, of which Dwane himself was appointed the first Provincial. In 1909 four of the Order had been ordained, and several had been admitted as catechists; more than 1400 had been confirmed, and the total number belonging to the Order in Cape Colony was probably 5000. Of late years some differences between Dwane and the Bishop of Grahamstown have led to the replacement of the former as Provincial by Dr. Cameron, Coadjutor-Bishop of Cape Town, as Acting-Provincial, Dwane remaining, however, a member of the Chapter.

IV. *The African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa.*

The movement towards ecclesiastical independence on the part of the South African natives was viewed by the various Governments with grave suspicion. The demand for greater ecclesiastical independence, it was feared, would be succeeded by the demand for an

¹ "The South African Natives," p. 195.

increase of political power. In Cape Colony, Free State and Transvaal no repressive measures were introduced, but the authorities of Natal, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Rhodesia passed restrictive legislation, so that, when Bishop Coppin reached South Africa, he found himself debarred from entering those territories.

Both Bishop Coppin and his successor Bishop Smith strove to the utmost of their power to alleviate the suspicions with which the African Methodist Episcopal Church was regarded. They professed their loyalty to existing Governments and institutions, repudiated proselytism, and dissociated themselves from schismatics like the notorious Mokalapa, who attempted to wreck Coillard's noble work on the Zambesi. Thirteen Bishops of the Church issued (in 1904) the following manifesto, which summarises their professed aims:—

In all our movements in South Africa we shall seek to help and not to hinder; to assist in advancing enlightened and healthful influences and not to impede them; to foster and encourage loyalty and obedience to lawfully constituted authority, and not to breed disaffection and anarchy.

In relation to all religious denominations our position is that of fraternity and co-operation in any and every way that will help to bring the heathen to a knowledge of the true God.

It is no part of our business to concern ourselves with politics. We shall strictly confine our endeavours to civilisation, education and christianisation. Our theory in regard to the education of the natives is—the rudiments of an education for all, industrial training for the many, and a college education for the talented few.¹

It must be confessed that hitherto the African Methodist Episcopal Church has not lived up to the principles laid down in the above declaration. When its actual course of conduct is in closer correspondence with its official declaration of policy, it may yet become a power for good in South Africa, and be greeted by other Christian denominations, not with the cold shoulder of suspicion, but with the right hand of fellowship.

Bishop Coppin estimated the number of his following in 1903 at 200 ministers, ordained and unordained, and 5000 to 6000 members. Since then the African Methodist Episcopal Church has not, so far as can be ascertained, made any substantial progress in South Africa. The history of Ethiopeanism in general has made it abundantly clear that the natives are deficient in the sense of law and order, lax in their exercise of discipline, and to a large extent incapable of directing their own affairs, and, in especial, their financial affairs. The African Methodist Episcopal Church in Cape Town has been compelled to pass through the bankruptcy court, and the African Methodist Episcopal Institution near Darling is in financial straits, and has

¹ "Natives of South Africa," p. 202.

APP. II. had to be closed through want of funds. Moreover, the alliance between English-speaking American negroes and Bantu-tongued South African natives has not been wholly acceptable to the latter.

V. *Other Secessionist Bodies.*

Besides the two considerable secessionist movements that have been described, several smaller bodies have during the last few years broken loose from European control. Without detailing the history of each, the most important must be enumerated :—

1. The "Church of the Tembus," already mentioned, joined the American Baptist Church (negro) after a visit of a minister of the latter, C. S. Morris, to South Africa. Morris claimed to have baptised 1200 during his sojourn.

2. The "Presbyterian Church of Africa" (native) is the creation of P. J. Mzimba, who had been for twenty-two years an ordained minister of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission. In 1898 he unexpectedly severed this connection, and took with him a large native following, which by 1903 had grown (according to Mzimba's own estimate) to 6500 communicants and 20,000 adherents. At his secession he claimed certain buildings and moneys in his possession, but the Supreme Court upheld the rights of the United Free Church, and Mzimba was obliged to surrender possession.

3. The "Ethiopian Catholic Church of Zion" was a secession from the Church of England, under the leadership of S. J. Brander, who had been ordained as deacon. For a time they associated themselves with Makone, and subsequently with the African Methodist Episcopal Church, but in 1904, under the above style and title, they assumed an independent existence.

4. The Ethiopian spirit was greatly fostered in Natal by the wild schemes of Joseph Booth, a European who at one time had been engaged in independent mission work in Nyasaland. Booth projected a joint-stock company of African natives, with commercial and political objects, but the whole scheme was a hare-brained one and came to nought. The effect of Booth's theories, however, was to stimulate Ethiopianism, and secessions took place of :—

The "Zulu Congregational Church," from the American Zulu Mission;

The "Uhlanga Church" (National Church), under Mbiyana Ngidi, also from the American Zulu Mission, with an infusion of members from the Scotch and Wesleyan Missions.

The "Ibandhla li ka Mosi," under Moses Mbele,—a split from the Dutch Reformed Church.

VI. *Report of the Native Affairs Commission on the Ethiopian Movement.* APP. II.

The South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-4), consisting of eleven men of ability and experience, representing all the States and territories of South Africa, instituted special inquiries into the nature and extent of the "Church Separatist or Ethiopian Movement," and reported as follows :—

That in the opinion of this Commission the Ethiopian Movement, now represented by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Ethiopian Order in the Church of England, and numerous semi-organised schismatic fragments detached from every denomination operating to any considerable extent in this country, is the outcome of a desire on the part of the natives for ecclesiastical self-support and self-control, first taking tangible form in the secession of discontented and restless spirits from religious bodies under the supervision of European missionaries, without any previous external incitation thereto. Further, that upon the affiliation of certain of these seceders and their followings to the African Methodist Episcopal Church lamentable want of discrimination was displayed by the first emissaries to South Africa in the ordination to the ministry of unsuitable men.

That the Commission is not disposed to condemn the aspiration after religious independence, unassociated with mischievous political propaganda, but at the same time does not fail to recognise that in the case of a subject race such an aspiration, misdirected on the one hand by the leadership of ignorant and misguided men, and repressed by misunderstanding or harshness on the other, might be fraught with the seeds of racial mistrust and discontent.

That the Commission cannot but regard with concern the fact that many who have been prominently connected with the movement in its various phases are men lacking in the breadth of view, wisdom and forethought necessary properly to foster and direct the fledging ideals of a people just emerging from ignorance and barbarism into a state of semi-enlightenment.

That, reviewing these resolutions, the Commission would not advise any measure of legislative repression, unless unforeseen developments render it necessary, considering that effort should rather be directed toward securing efficient constitutional control and organisation, in order that the influences at work may be wisely directed, and any individual cases in which pastors abuse the trust reposed in them, may be amenable to authoritative discipline. To this end the Commission would deprecate the recognition of detached secessionary fragments acknowledging no efficient central authority.

That no minister of religion should solemnise a marriage without being licensed as a marriage officer.¹

NOTE Z.

THE CONCEPTION OF MISSION WORK IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

A historical and statistical review of Catholic missions—of their agencies and their results—must necessarily be preceded by an elucidation of that conception of mission work which is the official one in the Romish Church, seeing that it is substantially different from that of the Protestant Church. Irrespective

¹ "Report of the Native Affairs Commission," p. 64.

APP. II. of other differences, the object of mission work is wholly distinct. For Protestants that object is the whole non-Christian world, for Catholics the whole non-Romish world,—and therefore, not merely the heathen, the Jews and the Mohammedans, but also all Christians who do not stand under the sovereignty of the Pope, and who are considered to be schismatics and heretics. Indeed, in Christian lands in which the Romish Church is not officially the ruling Church, even the Catholic population is viewed as a section of the missionary agency. Rome, in short, divides the countries of the globe into Provinces of the Holy See and Provinces of the Propaganda. The Provinces of the Holy See are the *Catholicae regiones*; those of the Propaganda are the *Acatholicorum et infidelium terrae*. As the Mission field are considered . . . *omnes illae provinciae, civitates et terrae, quae magistratui infideli vel haeretico subiiciuntur*. . . .

This [conception of mission work] naturally has as its result very different statistics to those which we submit. We count as missionaries only such emissaries as labour among non-Christians, and reckon as numerical results of mission work only such Christians as we have won from among non-Christians. In the statistics of Catholic missions all priests who fill ecclesiastical offices in the countries called *terrae acatholicae* are reckoned as missionaries, and the whole of the Catholic population living in them is counted as a result of missionary operations. This naturally yields exorbitant figures, by which those who are unfamiliar with the Catholic conception of mission work are readily deceived. It stands to reason that we must reduce these figures to those who are actually missionaries to, and converts from, the heathen. This is exceptionally difficult in regions where there exists, alongside of the converts from heathenism, a larger or smaller emigrant Catholic population, which is no fruit of mission work in our sense of the term. Such is the case, e.g., in the Australian and Oceanic Colonies, in British North America, in North Africa and in South Africa.¹

NOTE AA.

THE TRAPPIST ORDER.

The Order of the Trappists—or, to give them their right name, the Reformed Cistercians—is so called from the Valley of La Trappe in Normandy, where a church and monastery were founded in the time of the Crusades. The discipline of this monastery had become very much relaxed, when during the seventeenth century it fell under the direction of the celebrated Abbot de Rancé. De Rancé had been in earlier life a courtier, a man of the world, given over (though a priest in orders) to sensuous enjoyments and the pursuit of wealth and ease. But the grace of God touched his heart. He was converted, turned his back for ever on the vanities of the world, and undertook a thorough reform of the monastery to which he belonged, which practically issued in the establishment of a new order—that of the Reformed Cistercians or Trappists.

From De Rancé's day date the austerities which he introduced, or introduced anew, and which have ever since been associated with the Trappist Order. The principles upon which his rules were based

¹ Warneck: "Geschichte der Protestantischen Missionen" (VIII Edit.), pp. 169 seqq.

were those of perpetual prayer and complete self-abnegation. By APP. II. Trappist rule the monks must rise at 2 a.m. for matins in the church, and these last until 3.30. Then they spend an hour in private devotions, and at 4.30 are again summoned to the choir for the office known as "prime". They then adjourn to the chapter-room, where the abbot reads and explains the rules of the order, receives confessions and awards penances for derelictions. This is followed by High Mass, accompanied by the offices called "terce" and "sext". By this time it is 7 o'clock, and the monks betake themselves to their daily avocations. Each one is expected to devote six hours *per diem* to manual labours. The period of morning toil is brought to a close at 11.15, when for about twenty minutes the monks enjoy a brief "free-time". At 11.40 the bell summons them to the office of "none," to which succeeds dinner, in the refectory. The diet is strictly vegetarian, no flesh, fish, eggs or wine being allowed. The rule of silence is not relaxed even during the dinner hour, but a lector or reader occupies an elevated desk, and reads aloud some pages of monkish biography by way of edification.

After the meal is over, a period of free time is allowed, but work is resumed at 1.30 p.m. and continued till about 4 p.m. At 4.15 the bell sounds for vespers, and at 5 the monks partake of their evening meal. After a brief breathing-space they are summoned at 6 to the evening lecture, which is followed by "compline"—the last office of the day. At 8 p.m. they retire to rest. The bed is a hard straw mattress, with a coarse coverlet, and lest this should prove too luxurious a couch for a man upon the brink of eternity, a dying monk is lifted from it on to the hard floor of his cell, upon which a few handfuls of straw have been scattered, that in dying he may lay aside the very last vestiges of earthly comfort.

Perpetual silence is the rule in a Trappist monastery, save only in cases of necessity or at certain stated times. No communication of any nature may be held with outsiders, and with other members of the order the only permissible language is that of signs. All the practices and observations to which the Trappist monk subjects himself, are designed to concentrate his thoughts upon the brevity of life, the approach of eternity, and the solemnity of the last dread ordeal.

NOTE BB.

UNDERTAKING BY WORKERS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMPOUNDS AND INTERIOR MISSION.

(a) I believe in the authenticity and inspiration of the Bible, and accept it as the Word of God.

(b) I give myself fully and unreservedly to God to labour for the salvation

APP. II. and the sanctification of the lost souls of men, subject to the guidance and direction of the Holy Spirit.

(c) I promise to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors of every description, also from the use of tobacco, snuff and other narcotics : to renounce the vanities and pleasures of the world, and, guided by the Holy Spirit, to follow the example of my Lord and Master Jesus Christ as closely and literally as I can.

(d) I believe that all men are by nature and works lost, and in danger of eternal punishment, and that the blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God is the only and sufficient atonement for sin.

(e) I promise not to rest satisfied until I have been filled with the Holy Spirit, and to live and work only and wholly in dependence upon His blessed presence, preparation, and enduement with power.

(f) I believe that Christ is able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by Him, and intend to work in expectation of great results, and to endeavour never to limit the manifestation of the Spirit's power by slothfulness, self-indulgence or lack of faith.

(g) I agree to accept the principle that I am to depend on the Lord to supply all my need (Phil. iv. 19), as I believe that He has called me to this work, and that I am going forth to labour for Him ; and I acknowledge that no legal obligation to pay me any salary is created by my thus volunteering to work for God in South Africa.

(h) I agree to submit to all rules and regulations formulated in terms of the Constitution of the Mission, and understand that my connection with the Mission may be terminated by the Executive at any time, and that they shall not be bound to give me any reason for so doing.

(i) Should I resign my connection with the Mission except with the full consent in writing of the Executive of the Mission, or be compelled to resign for misbehaviour within twelve months after commencing work in South Africa, I undertake to repay all expense incurred by the mission in bringing me to South Africa, and for outfit.

APPENDIX III.

STATISTICS.

The success of Missions is far in excess of the statistical results.—PROFESSOR WARNECK.

Mission statistics are acknowledged to be a very elusive quality, APP. III. and I do not profess, in the Tables appended, to have arrived at anything more than an approximation to exactitude. Many of the figures quoted are derived from the “Statistical Atlas,” published by Commission I of the World Missionary Conference, which gives statistics for the year 1907. In some instances I have given figures for a subsequent year, or have adopted other figures than those of the “Atlas,” though I have never ventured to differ without what seemed to me sufficient reason. The notes which I have appended will, I trust, make several doubtful points clear.

I find it a hopeless matter to attempt to reconcile several of the figures found in the “Atlas” and reproduced in my “Tables” with those that have been given in the text of this book. Statistics vary greatly with the methods of the particular Society, or with the view-point of the statistician. The best we can hope for is an approximately accurate result, the over-estimate of one Society being neutralised by the under-estimate of another.

STATISTICAL TABLES.

Work Commemorated.	Society.	Field(s).	Baptised.		Adherents.
			Communicants.	Out-stations.	
1737 Moravian Church.		Cape Province, Native Territories.	89	513	19,338
1799 London Missionary Society.		Cape Province, Bechuanaland.	50	126	21,595
1814 Wesleyan Missionary Society.	a	British South Africa.	102	183	21,250
1820 United Free Church of Scotland.	b	Natal.	123	856	75,344
1824 Dutch Reformed Church.	c	British South Africa.	225	59	361,606
1829 Paris Evangelical Missionary Society.	d	Basutoland, Barotsiland.	43	445	35,039
1849 Rhenish Missionary Society.	e	German S.W. Africa, Cape Prov.	64	79	137,295
1854 Berlin Missionary Society.	f	Cape Province, O.F.S., Natal, Tyl.	103	649	24,460
1855 American Board Mission.	g	Natal, Rhodesia.	41	560	15,969
1855 Church of England.	h	British South Africa.	177	910	35,106
1844 Norwegian Missionary Society.		Natal, Zululand.	31	58	35,106
1854 Hermannsburg Mission.		Natal, Transvaal.	51	518	35,106
1869 Swiss Romande Mission.		Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa.	73	81	22,760
1870 Finnish Mission.		Ovamboland.	37	35	67
1873 Church of Norway Mission.		Zululand, Natal.	19	29	48,360
1876 Church of Sweden Mission.		Natal, Zululand, Rhodesia.	28	82	19,711
1885 Free Methodist Church Mission.		Natal.	18	26	3842
1889 South Africa General Mission.		Native Territories, Natal, Swaziland.	61	57	5089
1890 Swedish Zulu Mission (Holiness Union).		Natal.	9	3	67
1890 Salvation Army.		British South Africa.	33	56	329
1890 Hanoverian Free Church Mission.		Transvaal.	17	55	329
1892 Scandinavian Independent Baptist Union.		Natal.	10	70	5000
1892 South African Baptist Missionary Society.		Kafraaria.	7	3	122
1895 South African Compounds and Interior Miss.		Johannesburg, Portuguese E. Africa.	11	5	122
1896 Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association.		Natal, Johannesburg.	23	46	160
1893 Brethren in Christ Mission.		Rhodesia.	9	20	40
1899 Methodist Episcopal Church.		Rhodesia.	11	7	40
1899 Norwegian Free Mission.		Natal.	18	47	106
1904 Presbyterian Church of South Africa.		Transvaal, Rhodesia.	5	2	106
			2	7	750
					750
					1,095,680
1490	7619	693	4124	319,596	563,566

(a) Under the London Missionary Society is included its work in the Cape APP. III. Province, now organised as the "Congregational Union of South Africa".

(b) The difficulty of distinguishing between the European and the native work of the Wesleyans makes these figures considerably larger than they should be.

(c) Under "Dutch Reformed Church" I have included figures for the Dutch Reformed Church, Orange Free State Synod, the Dutch Reformed Church, Transvaal Synod, and the Dutch Reformed Church, Natal Synod, as well as those for the Cape Province.

(d) The work of the French Protestant Church in Basutoland (P.E.M. Soc.) and that in Barotsiland (Barotsiland Mission) are here classed together.

(e) The figures include the German South-West and Cape Province fields.

(f) These statistics are from the "Jahresbericht für 1908".

(g) The work of the A.B.C.F.M. in Natal (American Zulu Mission) and that in Rhodesia are here considered together.

(h) These figures do not clearly distinguish native work and European work.

The Roman Catholic Missions count in South Africa 313 European priests, 445 lay brothers, 1667 sisters, 258 stations and out-stations, 269 churches and chapels and 58,548 adherents.

APPENDIX IV.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

APP. IV. A list is here given of books consulted in the preparation of this History. To those which I have found most useful, and to others whose prominence seemed to make it desirable, I have added brief notes of characterisation or criticism.

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[Freeman was deputed by the London Missionary Society to visit its stations in South Africa. His journal is very full and very interesting. His attitude throughout towards questions of Colonial native policy is that of Dr. Philip and the London Missionary Society.]

Fritsch, G.—Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben (2 vols., Breslau, 1872).

[This is an authoritative work on the South African natives—Bantu, Hottentot and Bushman. Fritsch spent three years in South Africa before the discovery of gold and diamonds drew a new population to the country, and contributed towards the de-nationalisation of the native tribes. His painstaking and scientific work has not been, and probably never will be, wholly superseded.]

Gardiner, Capt. A. F.—Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country, undertaken in 1835 (Lond., 1836).

[Valuable for its account of the early history of Natal, its description of Dingaan and his court, and its earnest missionary spirit.]

Galton, F.—Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa (Lond., 1853).

[Contains some items of interest on Rhenish Missions in Damaraland.]

Gazaland, The East Central African Mission in (Boston, 1903).

Gedenkschriften der Maatschappij van Zendelingen (Letters from and to L.M.S. missionaries, 1799-1800).

Genootschap, Het Zuid Afrikaansche Zendeling (The South African Missionary Society). Manuscript Minutes and Printed Reports, since 1799.

Gensichen, M.—Bilder von unserem Missionsfelde in Süd- und Deutsch-ost Afrika (Berl., 1902).

Geschiedverhaal van Genadendal.

Gnadenthal, die erste evangelische Missions Station in Afrika; by Schneider (1892).

[Somewhat full observations and criticisms of this work will be found at pp. 74, 76.]

Gray, Bishop.—Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through the Cape Colony in 1848 (3rd Ed., Lond., 1853).

“ “ Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour in 1850 (Lond., 1851).

“ “ Life of Robert, Bishop of Cape Town (2 vols., Lond., 1876).

Haccius, G.—Denkschrift über die 1887-9 abgehaltene General-Visitation der Hermannsburger Mission in Süd-Afrika (Hermannsburg, 1899).

- APP. IV. Haccius, G.—Rückblick auf das letzte Jahrzehnt in Afrika (Hermannsburg, 1899).
- Hahn, Theophilus.—Tsuni-Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi (London, 1881).
 [An authoritative work on the mythology and religious beliefs of the Hottentots.]
- Hamilton, J. T.—A History of the Church known as the Moravian Church (Bethlehem, Pa., 1900).
 [The sections on South Africa are necessarily brief, and through unacquaintance with South African circumstances, not always accurate.]
- Hanoverschen Evang. Lutherischen Freikirche, Missionsblatt der (1899-1900).
- Harris, Cornwallis.—The Wild Sports of Southern Africa (Lond., 1839).
 [Contains *inter alia* a valuable account of Moselekatse, and one or two mission items.]
- Hepburn, J. D.—Twenty Years in Khama's Country (Lond., 1896).
 [Tells the story of the attempts to evangelise the Batauana of Lake Ngami.]
- Hewitt, J. A.—Sketches of English Church History in South Africa, 1795-1848 (Cape Town, 1887).
 [A somewhat dry chronicle; but important for the history of the Anglican Church in South Africa.]
- Hodgson, T. L., Memoir of the Rev., Wesleyan Missionary in South Africa; by Thornley Smith (Lond., 1854).
- Hofmeyr, S.—Twintig Jaren in de Zoutpansbergen (Cape Town, 1890).
- Honingbij, De.—A magazine published monthly from Oct. 1838 to 1846 (Cape Town).
- Holden, W. C.—A Brief History of Methodism, and of Methodist Missions in South Africa, with Appendix on the Livingstonia Mission (Lond., 1877).
 [A very meritorious work.]
- Holub, Dr. E.—Sieben Jahre in Süd Afrika (2 vols., Vienna, 1881).
 „ „ „ Von der Capstadt ins Land der Maschukulumbe (Vienna, 1890).
 [Though the interests of the Austrian explorer were predominantly those of the ethnologist and the naturalist, he gives us a good many sympathetic glimpses into mission work among the Bechuana tribes.]
- Isaacs, Nathaniel.—Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, descriptive of the Zoolus, their Manners, Customs, etc. (2 vols., Lond., 1836).
 [A valuable account of the Zulus.]

- Jahresbericht der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft (1909). APP. IV.
 Jahresbericht der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft (1910).
 Journal des Missions Évangéliques (1826 *et seqq.*).
 Jousse, T.—La Mission Française au Sud de l'Afrique (2 vols., Paris, 1889).
 [This is a detailed and exceedingly interesting history of the French Basuto Mission. The whole history is divided into nine periods, with suitable headings descriptive of the progress or retrogression made. The reader is greatly assisted thereby in forming a due estimate of the orderly development of the Basutoland mission.]
- Junod, H. A.—Elementary Grammar of the Thonga-Shangaan Language (1897).
- Kaapsche Cyclopaedie, De (1833-34).
- Kaffraria,—Recollections of a Visit to British (S.P.C.K.), n.d.
- Kay, Stephen.—Travels and Researches in Kaffraria (Lond., 1833).
 [Kay followed in the footsteps of Barrow and Philip, and therefore permits himself several strong statements on the attitude of colonists to natives, while his interpretation of contemporary historical events is not always to be trusted. In other respects his work is a well-written and reliable account of the Kafirs, with interesting references to missions in Kaffraria.]
- Kerkbode, De (1849 to 1910).
- Kicherer, J. J.—Narrative of Mission to the Hottentots, etc., 1799-1803 (from Transactions of the Missionary Soc.: Lond., 1806).
- Kidd, Dudley.—The Essential Kafir (Lond., 1904).
 " " Savage Childhood (Lond., 1906).
 " " Kafir Socialism (Lond., 1908).
 [Mr. Kidd's works on native life and institutions have enjoyed a wide vogue, and the illustrations with which they are adorned are excellent and characteristic. But many of his representations of native customs, and in particular the thesis of the last-mentioned work, have been severely (and in my estimation justly) criticised by eminent South African missionaries. See "Christian Express," the monthly magazine of the Lovedale Institution, August, 1908, and April, 1909.]
- Kolbe, F. W.—An English-Herero Dictionary, with an introduction to the study of Herero and Bantu in general (Cape Town, 1883).
 " " A Language Study based on the Bantu (Lond., 1886).
 Kolbe, Peter.—Naaukeurige en Uitvoerige Beschrywing van de Kaap de Goede Hoop (Amsterdam, 2 vols. folio, 1727).
 [Kolbe's well-known work, containing an immense amount of information, not always reliable or even credible, on South Africa in the early years of the eighteenth century.]
- Kratzenstein, Ed.—Kurze Geschichte der Berliner Mission in Süd-Afrika (4th Edit., Berlin, 1893).

APP. IV. [This is the standard history of the Berlin Mission in South Africa. It is more a chronicle than a history. There is no attempt to divide into chapters. Each station is taken in succession, and all the events in connection with its history carefully enumerated.]

Küльz, Wilh.—Deutsch-Südafrika in 25-Jahre Deutscher Schutzherrschaft (Berlin, 1909).

Lagden, G.—The Basutos; the Mountaineers and their Country (2 vols., Lond., 1909).

Latrobe, C. I.—Journal of a visit to S. Africa in 1815 and 1816, with some account of the missionary settlements of the United Brethren (Lond., 1818).

Lichtenstein, Henry.—Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803 to 1806 (Translated from German, 2 vols., Lond., 1812).

[Lichtenstein has been greatly praised for his accurate description of South Africa and its inhabitants. It is to be regretted that he imbibed the prejudices which Commissary-General de Mist seems to have cherished against missionaries from abroad (see pp. 94-5 *supra*). It is not to be denied that many of the early missionaries were illiterate men, but the strictures which he passes upon the "swarm of idle missionaries" (Vol. I, p. 146; Vol. II, p. 87) are wholly uncalled for. He is also at pains to calumniate one of the best clergymen and truest mission friends South Africa has ever had (Vol. I, p. 143, Vol. II, p. 87). On the other hand it must be admitted that Lichtenstein speaks of the work of the Moravians in sympathetic and commendatory terms.]

Lier, van, Leerredenen van Helperus Ritzema (Utrecht, 1802).

Lovett, R.—The History of the London Missionary Society (2 vols., Lond., 1899).

[Upon this monumental work a large amount of toil and pains have been bestowed, and the result is a work of great interest and importance. The history of the London Missionary Society Missions in South Africa is related in Vol. I, pp. 481-648. Through unacquaintance with South African circumstances the author mis-spells many names. His reading of South African history is, of course, that of the London Missionary Society's missionaries. Outside of works by these missionaries, he only quotes (and that merely to refute) some sentences from Wilmot and Chase's "History," now out of print and wholly superseded, and Theal's small volume on "South Africa," in the "Story of the Nations" series. Of Theal's detailed "History," in eight volumes, he has apparently no knowledge.]

McCarter, John. The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa (Edin., 1869).

[A short but interesting compendium, though now very much out of date.]

Mackenzie, Memoir of Bishop Charles, by H. Goodwin (Lond., 1865).

Mackenzie, John.—Ten Years North of the Orange River (Edin., 1871).

[A well-written and exceedingly valuable work on the progress of the Bechu-APP. IV. analand Mission of the London Mission Society.]

Macintosh, C. W.—*Coillard of the Zambesi* (Lond., 1907).

Malan, Major C. H.—*Rides in the Mission Fields of South Africa* (Lond., 1872).

“ “ “ *South African Missions* (Lond., 1876).

Mathers, E. P.—*Zambesia, England's El Dorado in South Africa* (Lond., 1891).

Merriman, Archdeacon.—*The Kafir, the Hottentot and the Frontier Farmer* (Lond., 1853).

Moffat, J. S.—*The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat* (12th Ed., Lond., n.d.).

Moffat, Robert.—*Missionary Labours and Scenes in S. Africa* (Lond., 1842).

[This work has passed through many editions, and has fully deserved its popularity. The style is attractive, the history of the pioneering efforts of the London Missionary Society is sufficient, the description of native customs and beliefs reliable, and the missionary glow unmistakable.]

Moister, Wm.—*Conversations on Wesleyan Missions* (Lond., 1869).

Moodie, Donald.—*The Record, a Series of Official Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of S. Africa* (4to, Cape Town, 1838-39).

[This work contains extremely valuable extracts from the Cape Archives, but is out of print and un procurable.]

“ “ “ *Specimens of the Authentic Records of the Cape of Good Hope, Relative to the Aboriginal Tribes* (Cape Town, 1841).

“ “ “ *Correspondence between D. Moodie and Rev. John Philip* (Cape Town, 1841).

Nachtigal, A.—*Die ältere Heidenmission in Süd Afrika* (Berlin, 1891). Dutch translation: *De oudere Zending in Zuid Afrika* (Amsterdam, 1893).

[This is a valuable work, and gives evidence of careful research into documents and books that are rare and un procurable. It is very full of reliable details, but is deficient in the grouping of these details, and weak in its tracing of the general trend of South African mission history.]

Nederduitsch Zuid Afrikaansche Tijdschrift (1824-42).

[In this series there occur many interesting pieces of missionary information.]

Noble, F. Perry.—*The Redemption of Africa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1899).

[The writer of this book, who was Secretary of the Chicago Congress on Africa (1893), has evidently read very widely to gather the material]

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for these volumes, and his style is lively and interesting. The system followed is that of giving in brief the history of each Mission Society separately. His facts are not always reliable, nor have they been properly digested. Rhenish Missions, e.g., are classified under the heading of "The Lutheran Church," which is somewhat misleading. The chief blot on this work—so far as concerns the history of South African missions—is the strong anti-Boer bias, which leads the author to make statements such as these: "Of the twenty-eight stations established . . . by Congregationalists . . . seven had been broken up by Kafir wars and *African Dutchmen*" (I, 263). "The Boers regarded the blacks as creatures of the devil. . . . Over the doors of one church was posted the notice: 'Hottentots and dogs forbidden to enter'"¹ (I, 443).]

O'Haire, Jas.—Recollections of Twelve Years in South Africa (Dublin, 1883).

Oordt, J. W. G. van.—Slagtersnek (Amsterdam, 1897).

Philip, John.—Memoir of Mrs. Matilda Smith, late of Cape Town (Lond., 1824).

, , , Researches in South Africa (2 vols., Lond., 1828).

[For a criticism of this work see Chap. xvi. of this "History".]

Pringle, Thomas.—Narrative of a Residence in South Africa (Lond., 1835).

[This is an interesting and well-written volume, as was to be expected from the South African poet. It must be read, however, with due allowance for the standpoint of the author, who was a close friend of Fairbairn and Dr. Philip, and a staunch supporter of the "philanthropist school".]

Pringle, Thomas.—The Poetical Works of (Lond., 1837).

[These poems breathe the true South African air, and depict South African scenes with life-like reality. In the "Notes" are one or two missionary items that are of interest.]

Recorder.—The South African Christian (June, 1836-May, 1837).

[This volume—the only one I have been able to obtain—gives a good deal of contemporary and trustworthy missionary information.]

¹ The "Hottentots and dogs" tale has appeared in not a few books on South African missions, and I therefore addressed a request for information on the subject to the historiographer, Dr. Theal, from whom I received the following reply:—

"WYNBERG, 23RD MARCH, 1909.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—In no record that I have ever seen is such an inscription as that you mention to be found, and I do not believe that it ever appeared on any church door in South Africa with the authority of the consistory.

"I am, Rev. and dear Sir,

"Very truly yours,

"GEO. M. THEAL."

Ricards, James D.—The Catholic Church and the Kafir: a brief APP. IV.
sketch of the progress of Catholicity in South Africa (Lond.,
n.d.).

Ridsdale, Benj.—Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand
(Lond., 1883).

Riebeek, Jan van.—Dagverhaal, 3 vols.=1981 pages (Utrecht,
1884-93).

[The "Journal" of Commander van Riebeek is a South-African classic,
covering as it does the first eleven years (1652-62) of the settlement,
and giving a detailed account of the doings of every day. There is a
translation by the Rev. H. C. V. Liebbrandt (*Précis of the Archives—*
Riebeek's Journal), but it is considerably abridged—813 pages, as
compared with 1981 pages in the Dutch edition.]

Rohden, L. von.—Geschichte der Rheinischen Missions-Gesell-
schaft (3rd Ed., Barmen, 1888).

[This is a very detailed and painstaking history of the Rhenish Mission, all
but 150 out of 520 pages being concerned with South Africa. As in the
case of other German histories, we have here too to complain that we
“cannot see the wood for the trees”. There is too much of (some-
times wearisome) detail, and too little elucidation of principles and
accentuation of important events and crises.]

Shaw, Barnabas.—Memorials of South Africa (Lond., 1840).

[Of importance for the history of the earliest Methodist missions.]

Shaw, William.—The Story of My Mission (Lond., 1860).

[Exceedingly valuable: recounts the story of the commencement of Wes-
leyan missions in Kafraria.]

Shrewsbury, W. J.—Memorials of the Rev. (Lond., 1869).

Smith, Judson.—A History of the American Board Missions to
Africa (Boston, 1905).

Smith, Thomas.—The Origin and History of the Missionary Soci-
ties (2 vols., Lond., 1824).

Smith, Thornley.—South Africa Delineated (Lond., 1850).

Soga, Tiyo; a page of South African Mission Work, by John A.
Chalmers (Edin., 1878).

South African Natives, The: Their Progress and Present Condition.
Edited by the South African Native Races Committee (Lond.,
1909).

Sparrman, Dr. Andrew.—A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, etc.
(1772-76). Translated from the Swedish (2 vols., Lond., 1785).

[Sparrman's work is a reliable and, on the whole, impartial account of
South Africa in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Coming to
this country with the views which Rousseau had popularised in
Europe, he naturally animadverts in strong terms on the system of
slavery, and on the treatment meted out by the colonists to Bushmen

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and Hottentots, while at the same time he mentions not a few cases in which particular slaves and Hottentots were well cared for, both bodily and spiritually, by their owners. He also mentions George Schmidt, and gives extracts from his diary.]

Spoelstra, C.—*Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der N.G. Kerk in Zuid Afrika* (Materials for the History of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa) (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1906-7).

[This work contains the correspondence that passed between the Dutch Reformed ministers at the Cape, and the Presbyterial authorities at Amsterdam, under whose jurisdiction they stood, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Needless to say, it is of the utmost importance to the historian of the Dutch Reformed Church, and contains many items that throw light on missionary attempts in those years.]

Stewart, James.—*Dawn in the Dark Continent, or Africa and its Missions* (Lond., 1903).

[These Duff Missionary Lectures do not profess to be a detailed history of African missions, and therefore they need not be too closely criticised. Some South African missions receive a fair amount of attention; others are rather summarily treated; while the account of the Dutch Reformed Church at pp. 261-63 is full of inaccuracies. The value of the work lies rather in the principles it seeks to expound.]

Stewart, James.—*Lovedale, South Africa* (Edin., 1894).

Stow, Geo. W.—*The Native Races of South Africa* (Lond., 1905).

[This work purports, in the first place, to be a description of the South African native races, and, secondly, to give some historical details on certain tribes and clans. As a description of the natives it is a work of first-rate importance, but in his historical allusions Stow is not always trustworthy. He had imbibed many of the prejudices of the "philanthropic party," and for a number of his facts he relies wholly on the authority of Dr. Philip—not by any means a safe guide. The details communicated, e.g. on pp. 173-77, regarding the Tooverberg Bushmen are drawn, almost verbatim, from Philip's "Researches," Vol. I, pp. 10-17, 20-21, 32, 50.]

Taylor, Wm.—*Christian Adventures in South Africa* (Lond., 1867).

[See Chapter xxix.]

Theal, Geo. McCall.—*Records of Cape Colony.*

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| “ | “ | Records of South-Eastern Africa. |
| “ | “ | History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795 (3 vols., Lond., 1907-10). |
| “ | “ | History of South Africa since 1795 (5 vols., Lond., 1908). |
| “ | “ | Kaffir Folklore (Lond., 1882). |

Theal, Geo. McCall.—*Progress of South Africa during the Century APP. IV.*
 (Lond., 1902).

Dr. Theal's authoritative and exhaustive works are indispensable to all workers in the field of South African History. No one can even approach him in the measure of industry, accuracy and patience which he has brought to the investigation of South African historical records. Future historians may possibly excel him in architectonic ability, but they can only build upon the broad foundations which his researches have so securely laid.]

Thomas, Thomas Morgan.—*Eleven Years in Central South Africa*
 (Lond., 1872).

[An exceedingly interesting work, by one of the earliest missionaries to the Matabele. The account given of the people, of their customs, laws and religious beliefs, is one of the best extant.]

Thompson, Augustus C.—*Moravian Missions; Twelve Lectures*
 (Lond., 1883).

[At pages 345 to 411 of this work will be found an interesting and fairly reliable account of the progress of Moravian Missions in South Africa. Unfortunately the author derives his views from Philip, Pringle and "Justus" ("The Wrongs of the Kaffir Nation"), the last named a writer of violent anti-colonial antipathies; and his representation of the relations subsisting between colonists and natives is therefore one-sided.]

Thompson, George.—*Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa* (2nd Ed., 2 vols., Lond., 1827).

[A valuable work, and of special interest to the student of missions, the author having visited both the Bechuanaland and the Little Namaqua-land fields.]

Thunberg, Dr. C. P.—*Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia, 1770-1779*
 (3 vols., Lond., 1795 [?]).

[Thunberg's narrative is somewhat disconnected, and his book does not read easily. He gives, however, much valuable information, and his views of the relations of colonists to natives are in some respects a corrective to those of his fellow-Swede, Sparrman.]

Trollope, Anthony.—*South Africa* (2 vols., Lond., 1878).

Tyler, Josiah.—*Forty Years among the Zulus* (Boston, 1891).

Vaillant, François le.—*Travels into the interior parts of Africa, 1780-5* (2 vols., Lond., 1790).

" " New Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa (3 vols., Lond., 1796).

[Le Vaillant's works make exceedingly lively reading, but his credulity and the exaggerations which he permits himself, greatly discount the accuracy of his descriptions. To the reader who is able to discriminate, however, his volumes contain many observations of interest and importance.]

APP. IV. Valentyn, François.—Beschrijvinge van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, met Zaaken daartoe behoorende (Amsterdam, 1726).

[This work, containing *inter alia* a careful description of the Hottentots and of their religion, is in every way reliable.]

Vos, M. C., Merkwaardig Verhaal aangaande het Leven en de Lot gevallen van (Amsterdam, 1824).

[See Chapter VIII, p. 67.]

Walton, W. Spencer; by George E. Weeks.

Wangemann.—Ein Reisejahr in Süd Afrika (Berlin, 1868).

„ Die evangelische Missionsarbeit in Süd Afrika (Berlin, 1872).

„ Geschichte der Berliner Mission in Süd Afrika (Berlin, 1873-77).

[In these two latter works an attempt is made to give an account of other societies besides the Berlin, operating in South Africa, but the information imparted consists of cameos from the mission history rather than of a detailed and consecutive account of events. The history of the Berlin missions is full and accurate, though Wangemann's work is now superseded by Kratzenstein's.]

Ward, Harriet.—Five Years in Kaffirland (2 vols., Lond., 1848).

Wells, James.—Stewart of Lovedale: the Life of James Stewart, D.D., etc. (Lond., 1908).

Wessmann, R.—The Bawenda of the Spelonken (Lond., 1908).

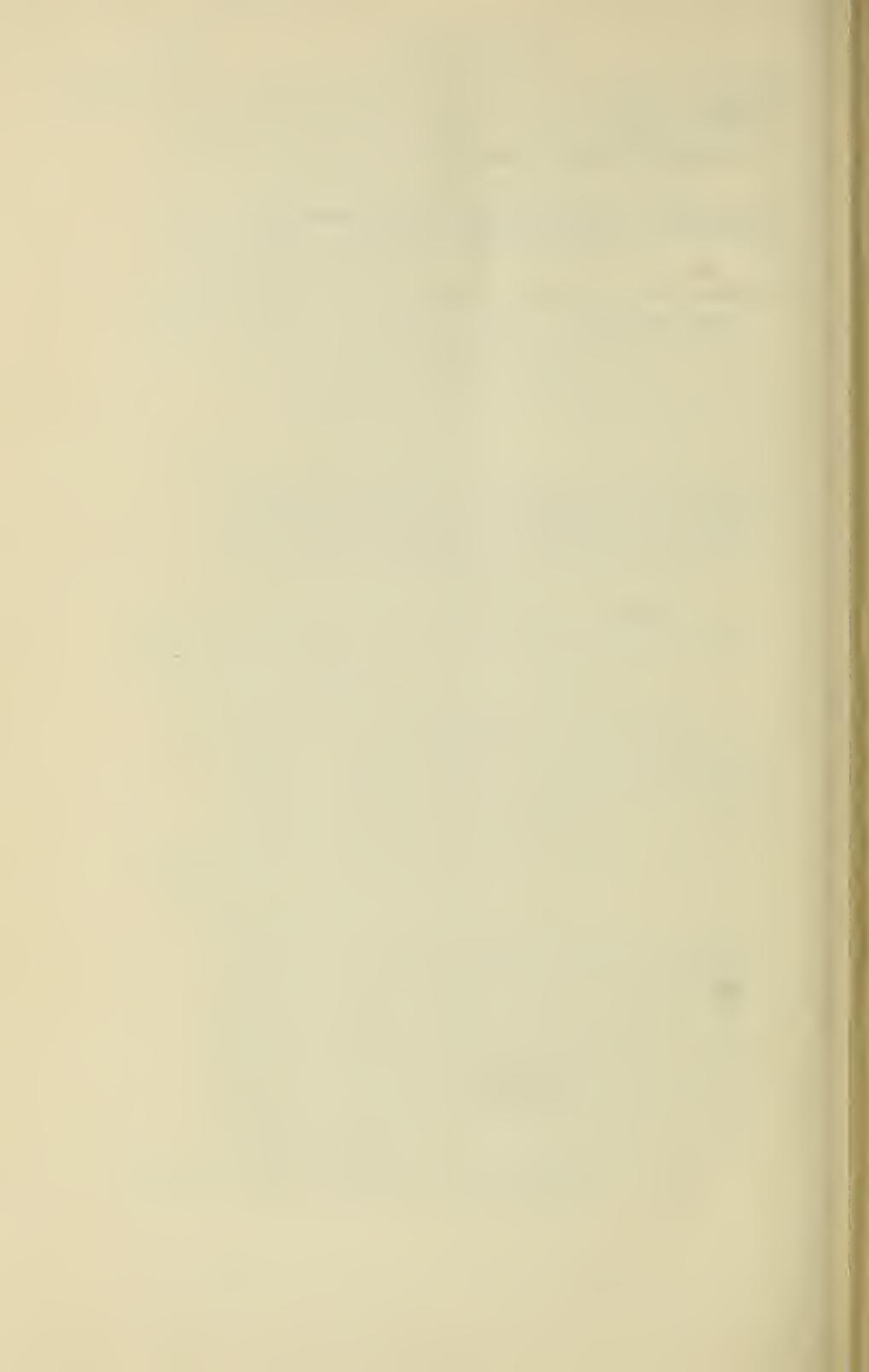
[An interesting little sketch of one of the most interesting of Bantu tribes. The treatment of some subjects, however, is disappointingly brief and inadequate. "The Native Problem" is disposed of in a page and a quarter! One chapter is headed "Knobneuzen Superstition," and leaves the impression that the Bawenda (Bavenda) and the Knobneuzen are the same people, which is wholly erroneous.]

Whiteside, J.—History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa (Lond., 1906).

[This volume exhibits in most interesting fashion the growth of Wesleyan Methodism in South Africa. A large array of facts is presented in a very readable way. The author frequently allows his strong British proclivities to get the better of his judgment. Thus the Dutch are invariably represented as encroaching upon the natives (pp. 338, 358), as siding with the natives in attacks on mission stations (p. 362), as destroying churches and parsonages and firing on burial parties (pp. 352, 396),—whereas no offences are ever alleged in the case of British colonists and British troops. Mr. Whiteside's impartiality, therefore, is not above suspicion. But these errors of taste and judgment reduce to only a very small extent the value of an interesting (and so far as I can judge) accurate book.]

Widdicombe, J.—Fourteen Years in Basutoland (Lond., 1891).

- Wilmot, A.—Monomotapa (Rhodesia) : Its Monuments and History APP. IV.
(Lond., 1896).
[Contains some account of Catholic Missions to Zambesia in the sixteenth century.]
- Young, Robert.—Trophies from African Heathenism (Lond., 1892).
" " African Wastes Reclaimed (Lond., 1902).
- Zendingwerk der N.G. Kerk in Zuid Afrika : een beknopt Overzicht
(Cape Town, 1890).



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